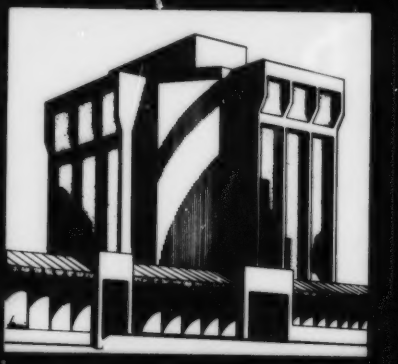
The Victoria Community Police Stations: An Exercise in Innovation



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Canada

THE VICTORIA COMMUNITY POLICE STATIONS:

AN EXERCISE IN INNOVATION

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NOTE: The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the Canadian Police College or any government department or agency.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This task has been a most enjoyable one, not only because of the subject matter and the opportunity to be in on the ground floor of an exciting new venture in policing but also because of the many people we have had the opportunity to work with. Special thanks go to John Post for recommending us to the Canadian Police College and to Don Loree, from the College, who had the confidence to give us the chance to take on the task. Thanks to Don, as well, for his support and much needed advice as the project moved towards completion.

We appreciated the total cooperation showed to our team by Chief Bill Snowdon, Supt. Terry Toone, Sgt. Harvey Stevenson and Gloria Walker while we carried out the bulk of the research work within the department. Despite the fast pace involved in implementing the new Community Police Stations, the police department still found the time to answer our questions, assist with our surveys and attend various meetings. That kind of cooperation is certainly reflective of the department's belief in this new venture and the desire to share their experiences with colleagues across the country. They were not afraid to open every door we asked and viewed our occasional critique as constructive and worthy of consideration. At the same time various staff made a point of sharing with us those ancilliary issues they believed should be put in a study of this nature. Such information has only served to enhance the picture we have tried to create in the following pages. We would also like to thank every outsider who agreed to be interviewed and provided insight into the community, political and administrative aspects of the project.

In addition we would like to acknowledge Corporal Murray Kennett who has come to play a major role in the Co.P.S. program. Finally we would like to thank each of the Community Station officers, Constables Griffin, Traptow, Dibden, Lowrey and Newcomb, who have us their full cooperation and advice whenever asked, and who allowed us to enter their domain to observe their teams in action.

Many thanks to Holly Volp and Susan Smedley who patiently fed our ideas into the word processor for part one of this study.

C.R.W.
S.G.W.

PREFACE

When we began to plan for the implementation of Community Police Stations in the city of Victoria, we had already passed through a number of phases in the process. We had, through a series of community input sessions, identified the fact that there were some basic flaws in the manner in which we had traditionally delivered police services to the community. We had examined a number of alternatives to address these flaws and had concluded that community police stations, each managed by a single police officer supported by a strong contingent of active community volunteers, held a great deal of promise.

We were acutely aware that such a departure from traditional policing methods was fraught with difficulties. We were also cognizant of the fact that the solution to many of these difficulties did not necessarily lie with the police department, itself.

When the staff of the Canadian Police College offered to engage Mr. Chris Walker to examine, in depth, the process we were going through and to feed back to us, on a regular basis, his perception of our activities, we readily accepted.

Chris Walker and Gail Walker have been with us from the very beginning. They have attended innumerable meetings and planning sessions and continue to do so. We, in the Department, have come to respect and value their counsel very highly, and in the success we have experienced to date, they have been a key factor.

The writings that they have produced on the Victoria Police Department Community Police Station Project have become a guidebook for us. In these writings, they have not only articulated the strengths of the program, but have identified some of the pitfalls into which we have strayed. Any police executive contemplating such a change in policing strategies will find their work invaluable.

The implementation of Community Police Stations in Victoria was based on one fundamental belief. That belief is that it is right and proper as well as valuable that the community have real and meaningful input into the nature of and the manner in which police service is delivered to them.

Throughout this whole process, we have learned another fundamental truth and that is that we in policing can learn and benefit from working with others outside of the police community who have special skills and abilities that we do not necessarily possess.

We are indebted to the Canadian Police College and to the "Walkers".

W.J. Snowdon
Chief Constable
Victoria Police Department

PART I

DEVELOPING A MODEL[1]

Introduction

Canadian police departments have entered the 1980's caught in an escalating need to re-examine their focus on the delivery of services to the Canadian public. Historically they have adopted a reactive stance to their operations, more or less living up to their mandate to police the areas under their jurisdiction. They utilize the most modern and effective techniques and equipment available to respond to the criminal element that continues to threaten and infringe upon the security and safety of the citizenry. This reactive stance has resulted from a 'complaint-react' model for the most part. This approach has created what Tumin (1986) calls the 'professional model of policing', a model which allows police forces to establish modern expectations or standards. Tumin states that these standards have "rationalized police organizations by allowing the idea of technique to take hold: technique which can be taught (that is, learned) and executed well or badly" (p. 4).

For the most part Canadian police forces have adopted this 'professional model' by stringently establishing standards of police technique and behavior which are reinforced by training programs, both in-service and within police academies. These standards not only change with emerging innovations in procedure, but are also closely tied with changing legislation that supposedly reflects society's needs and therefore demands new approaches to enforcement.

The increasing paperwork and the need to do things 'just right' has forced the police officer to become even more reactive in his or her role, ensuring that nothing about procedure or techniques gives the accused the slightest advantage to claim 'undue process' as a reason for the subsequent dismissal of a charge. To that end the police officer must continue to refine and practice his or her skills until they reflect the error-free style that allows him or her to confidently react in an effective and successful fashion.

As this process develops, we will find more and more of our police departments stressing the 'professional model' role and committing more of their resources to 'catching crooks' effectively, effectiveness being judged by a successful prosecution and an acceptable punishment. Continuing along that road is essential but to maintain that focus as a principle priority could destine Canadian society to a long hard 'winter' of increasing crime and

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1 Part I was initially published in the Canadian Police College Journal, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1987.

resultant public fear that could overshadow the benefits of a technique-proficient police system. Reactive policing needs help to succeed.

To that end we have, over the last two decades, seen a gradual restructuring of police priorities to include a proactive, or preventative, element to their thinking and behaviour. This recognizes that the public can play a major role in its own crime-free destiny (Brown, 1985), a role that entails them undertaking both a crime-defensive and police-cooperative stance to public safety.

Initial ventures into the proactive realm involved the police becoming an identifiable entity for school children. It was believed that long lasting change could only be achieved through teaching children respect for the law and co-operation with police. School liaison programs began to spring up in major police jurisdictions, with hand picked constables visiting classrooms on a regular basis to speak about crime and the role the community can play in helping the police do their job. Visible examples of this co-operation began to surface through the school safety-patrol programs, bicycle marking programs and the block-parent organizations (Gummer, 1986).

Most police felt that these initiatives were a good start and in some cases were seen as the only programs in which the police ought to become involved, given the ever increasing demands on their reactive roles by the community. Fortunately, enlightened administrators did not believe the latter and continued to push for programs that would increase community involvement. Two approaches emerged that became more or less the models on which community policing, as it was now called, were based.

The first model involved maximum input by the police with community participation being more the eventual result rather than the principle player. The main objective of this model was to re-organize police patrol in such a fashion that it improved constable familiarity with a neighbourhood by increasing his or her visibility in the area and reducing the geographic area to be patrolled. Constables became more familiar with the life-style of the neighbourhood which made irregularities in citizen behaviour readily observable. At the same time, it was expected that the local residents would begin to notice these familiar faces, and through almost a symbiotic relationship, begin to interact with police in a crime prevention and crime reporting fashion. Increased response time by the police would serve as a reinforcement of this new relationship, thereby cementing the ties even further. To that end, team policing related styles became a popular police initiative. They allowed the police to stay principally reactive in the delivery of service while allowing some proactive interaction when things were quiet.

The second model maintained those strategies developed by the school programs, but focused on neighbourhoods and businesses

within the area. The police have long believed that the public fear of crime is rooted in the prospect of their private space being invaded by uninvited individuals like the criminal. By increasing the citizens' efforts at crime-proofing the home and/or business the police believe a new line of defense against crime will be established, thereby reducing crime and increasing the citizens' confidence in the security of their possessions and loved ones. Programs like Neighbourhood Watch, Business Watch, Operation Provident and the like have all focused on target hardening practices that reduce criminal access. Crimestoppers has also been successful by encouraging, through financial incentives, the public's co-operation in solving crimes. This program stresses the public responsibility role in reactive policing while at the same time using rewards as a means for encouraging co-operation (Wandersman, 1985; Washnis, 1976).

One could also find more and more police departments developing 'Community Service' divisions or sections to coordinate police involvement in these various programs. Under this umbrella, community constables responded to the needs of the established programs as well as pursuing new initiatives.

Victoria City police department was no stranger to this model. The impetus began in the early 1970's but only gathered momentum with the changing of police chiefs at the turn of the 1980's. The appointment of Bill Snowdon, a veteran of the team policing - community services focus of the Vancouver City Police Department, brought with it a commitment by city council to develop a proactive component to their force. Snowdon's commitment to this became apparent immediately as he set about strengthening the community services section in both manpower and the freedom to develop new programming. The business community was quickly recruited to help fund and promote a number of the new programs. Their co-operation was so enthusiastic that the annual donation of grants and equipment currently stands at close to $100,000.00

Unfortunately, the new mood was quickly dampened by the effects of the recession and Victoria found itself struggling to keep up with increasing restraint. Police department strength reduced annually from a peak of 185 in 1981 to its lowest compliment of 165 in 1985. At the same time, police caseloads increased from a rate of 77 to 100. The whole department suffered from these reductions and yet the commitment to community policing strengthened, not in manpower, but in the community support and staff enthusiasm to implement new programs that would help in the fight against the growing crime rates.

The election of a new Mayor in the fall of 1985 seemed to signal a new regime that would be highly sympathetic to the value of proactive policing programs. It recognized that such programs could eventually reduce the crime rate, through public cooperation, and thereby stabilize the costs an ever increasing police force brings. It would also allow the police department to follow

through on crime investigations resulting in more and better arrests and convictions thereby improving the public perception of safety in the community.

It was at this time that the concept of "mini-stations" was presented as a logical next step in the proactive movement. It was the firm belief of the police administration that the maximum benefit of a central police station program had been reached. Expansion of the police presence in the various neighbourhoods was essential if the community initiative was to garner the citizen support and co-operation it needed. A structural presence, as in a community police office, would enable both the community and the police to identify with each other in a way patrol cars never could.

Purpose

This paper will describe the process utilized by the Victoria City Police Department to establish their 'mini-station' approach to community policing. Four objectives have been designed to cover that task in as descriptive and comprehensive a manner as possible. They include: 1) isolating those factors, internal and external, that precipitated the need to develop the 'mini-station' approach; 2) describing those planning processes that led to the decision to proceed in the chosen direction, including the identification of those options that were proposed and subsequently rejected; 3) describing the program as it has been developed to this point in time. Part of this description will involve some level of prognostication, to generate an image of how these stations are expected to operate; and, 4) hypothesizing what the short and long range impacts of the program might be.

This paper will deal specifically with the first two objectives as they have been completed. The final two have yet to meet fruition, since the stations are just becoming operational, and therefore are dealt with here in a somewhat "crystal-ball" fashion. This has its advantages given that a current study is looking at these last two objectives and the results will be reported in a future issue of this journal. The opportunity at that time to compare the 'what is' with the 'what might have been' will make for an interesting educational exercise. If anything it will allow for a comparison between the theoretical ideal and the pragmatic end result.

Methodology

The very nature of the project suggested that data gathering follow along three avenues. These included: 1) a review of the literature; 2) structured interviews with both police and non-police personnel; and 3) reference to available geographic, demographic and crime data.

An extensive literature search provided a significant number of publications with a community policing focus. Unfortunately

only a small minority dealt with Canadian experiences and even less content pertained directly to the Community Police Station concept. Fortunately two short-run experiments with store-front policing had been attempted in Toronto and Victoria, during the mid-1980's, and their experiences provided a foundation for further literature searches. (The Metropolitan Board of Commissioners of Police, 1986; Coleman, 1984).

The Detroit model of police mini-stations, turned out to be the closest example of the concept being formalized in Victoria. Initiated in 1974, this program had developed into a well established police service by the time Victoria considered implementing its own model. Visits to Detroit by Victoria staff and return visits from Detroit officials provided the impetus for developing a similar service here (Hickling, 1984). The documentation and reports surrounding these visits provided the researchers with much useful information. (Holland, 1985; Skolnick and Bayley, 1986).

A search of international police departments yielded minimal information on models similar to the one being proposed, the Japanese neighbourhood station being the closest. Many of their programs reflected some of the thinking in Victoria, but the overall Japanese model went well beyond the delivery-of-service concepts being proposed for Victoria (Bayley, 1976).

With this as background, the interview portion of our research was begun. Structured questionnaires were designed to reflect the four objectives of the study. However, each questionnaire was sufficiently flexible to allow for the background and experience of the interviewee, or factors that could influence certain questions and how they were asked. Furthermore, given that the Victoria program was only in the developmental stages, it was realized that many of the responses might only be prognostications of what might be. It was believed that such "crystal ball gazing" would provide the opportunity to establish a base-line model from which further research could evolve, once the program became operational.

To give as wide a picture as possible of the planning, implementation and anticipated results phases of the program, it was decided to interview a broad cross-section of individuals. The list included: senior police administrators; community service personnel; police board members; city aldermen; local M.L.A.'s; neighbourhood association representatives; businessmen; senior civil servants responsible for police services; rank and file constables; N.C.O.'s; and private citizens. A total of 40 separate interviews were conducted during a six-week period. In addition, the research team attended two meetings of City Council at which the police budget was discussed; one major crime-prevention seminar for city businessmen; and a number of ride-alongs with police to view those neighbourhoods first scheduled to receive community police offices.

All interviews were taped to ensure accuracy in transcribing the individual responses to questions. Anonymity was assured to all interviewees on any answer or comment they identified as 'off the record'. Meetings of the entire research team were held weekly to review the work of the past 7 days; to identify tasks for the next week; and to revise questionnaires to fit the upcoming sessions.

Throughout the interview stage we continued to gather all ancillary data essential to the project. Whenever direct reference was made, during an interview, to specific resources in print we requested and received copies. City hall provided the team with the most current geographic and demographic resources available. Current crime statistics were made available by the City Police Department. Minutes of all committee and community meetings were also made available.

We responded to this cooperative arrangement by keeping the police informed of our needs well in advance and summarizing our progress whenever requested. At no time did any of the research team ever feel that they weren't being given the utmost cooperation and openness by the police department. This made the long, arduous process of interviewing much easier than anticipated.

Demographics

The City of Victoria represents one municipality out of eight in what is known as Metropolitan Victoria. Geographically it is positioned in the extreme south-east corner of Vancouver Island in British Columbia (Canada), bounded on one side by the Straits of Juan De Fuca and on the other three sides by the neighbouring municipalities of Saanich, Oak Bay and Esquimalt. Victoria City tends to be viewed, by most citizens as the heart of the entire Metropolitan Victoria area.

For the most part, this is true given the following facts. First, over 86% of all employers in the Metropolitan area have located businesses or office space within the Victoria city boundaries. Recent figures on public transit use has shown that 30,700 people move into and out of the area on a daily basis, more than double the closest competitor. Over 80% of all tourist accommodation for Metropolitan Victoria can be found within the city boundaries. Major public resources for the entire region include the Provincial Museum, Provincial Parliament Buildings, City Art Gallery, Victoria-Seattle ferry terminals, a large general hospital (one of only three serving the entire Metropolitan area), the largest shopping district on Vancouver Island and the largest and most utilized park area in the entire Metropolitan district (Beacon Hill Park).

Each of these features creates the image of an area that houses some of the people but serves all of the people that make up the Metropolitan region, a fact which makes policing complex and unpredictable at the best of times. The stable urban

population enables normal policing patterns to be maintained only as long as the large transient population interacts in a predictable fashion, something which is never assured given the numerous variables affecting human behaviour in a transitory environment. This is further complicated by the large tourist influx throughout the year. The temperate climate and multitude of visitor facilities makes Victoria a preferred destination by over two million visitors every year. The bulk of these visitors house themselves in the downtown core and the majority of facilities serving their needs are located close by.

The municipality has been divided into five district neighbourhoods which has allowed the police department to regionalize some of their basic activities in a structured fashion. It also allows any attempts at active community policing to be focussed, permitting programs to be developed according to the specific needs of the neighbourhood as well as the general needs of the municipality as a whole.

Those neighbourhoods include: James Bay; Fairfield; Fernwood; Blanshard; and Victoria West. Selective demographics have been incorporated into a simple table (Table 1) to highlight the basic similarities and differences of each area on a number of variables, including: population; male to female ratios; population by age; single vs. dual parent households; rental vs. owner-occupied housing; and, principle language of residents.

Based on those figures the reader should be able to deduce a number of relatively basic features that describe the city. Victoria tends to be small in size with the population distributed disproportionately among its five core neighbourhoods. Apart from the Blanshard area with its large business core, each neighbourhood is predominately devoted to housing. Females predominate in the city, and this reflects an abundance of retired widows who initially retired to the city with their spouses who subsequently died.

Despite the increasing divorce rate in the province, dual-parent families far outnumber single-parent arrangements. The proportion of youngsters of school age is small when compared to the city's neighbouring municipalities and this is evidenced in the fact that the city has only a total of seven schools serving the young population. Housing tends to be predominately rental units except for Fairfield which has an excess of single family units and is close to the picturesque ocean coastline. Its preponderance of small Victorian-style homes has made it an ideal neighbourhood for established young families.

An overwhelming proportion of the city is English-speaking which reflects the low immigration rate to the area. Only the small Chinatown area, located in Blanshard, deviates from this norm. Overall the lack of minority groups has prevented the emergence of racial gang activity which has become a problematic reality in B.C. urban centers. Despite this rather traditional

TABLE 1

Selected Demographic Comparisons Among the Five Neighbourhoods of the City of Victoria

VARIABLES	JAMES BAY	FAIRFIELD	FERNWOOD	BLANSHARD	VIC. WEST	TOTAL/AVG.
Total Population	10,700	17,000	18,700	14,300	4,000	64,700
% Male/Female	42/58	42/58	45/55	47/53	45/55	44/56
% over 65 years	37%	32%	21%	20%	10%	24%
Ratio of 2 parent/ 1 parent families	7:1	9:1	6:1	6:1	3.5:1	6.3:1
% of housing - rented	79%	49%	64%	81%	64%	67.4%
% of housing - owner occupied	21%	51%	36%	19%	36%	32.6%
Multi-family/ Single-family housing ratio	6.5:1	1.75:1	1.25:1	3:1	1.75:1	2.85:1
% using English as the mother tongue	89%	93%	85%	80%	88%	87%

Canadian community image, Victoria finds itself experiencing a rise in crime unprecedented in its history, with rates that will be analysed in greater depth later in this paper.

Police Services

The police department exercises much of its authority in a traditional policing manner. At the present time its total strength comprises 143 sworn officers and 29 civilian staff. This number is a reduction from its maximum strength reached in 1981 of 185 staff. However, recent negotiations with City Council has resulted in an overall increase in 1987 of 7 new constables and 3 civilians, returning total strength to 184 members. This increase is stage one of an overall plan, approved by council, for the next three years that will see manpower rise to 156 officers and 39 civilians, for a total of 195 members.

Much of that increase will allow the department to accomplish three major tasks: first, to implement a total of 5 community police stations, one located in each of the five neighbourhoods within the municipality; second, to release sworn staff members for street duty by employing civilians in positions normally carried out by these constables (eg. jail guards, complaint taking, etc.); and third, to increase the number of constables patrolling the downtown business-entertainment-tourist area which has been a centre of increased criminal activity the last few years. This problem not only affects the citizenry but also impacts on the tourist business, essential to this city's economy.

Most of these changes reflect the strong attempt by the police administration to achieve greater balance in reactive and proactive police operations. The proactive function has been a priority of the current administration ever since Chief Snowdon took office at the beginning of this decade. His interest and recognition of the value of implementing those police services which encourage a co-operative relationship in crime control between the public and the police department is readily apparent.

Some staff members have viewed this change as being 'too proactive', at the expense of the more traditional, reactive style that had become the department norm. In one sense, they are correct, given the chief's strong background in community policing and his firm belief that an effective force is one that can also secure the co-operation of the public both in its reporting of crime practices as well as in their own crime-prevention responsibilities. On the other hand, Snowdon's commitment to getting these programs established required him to ensure that the minimal manpower and resources were available to give them a fighting chance for success. Often these resources came from the operational end of the department, depleting their manpower and resulting in the misconception that 'community services gets whatever it wants at our expense'. When that happens, it doesn't take long for an individual to assume 'preferential treatment'. The chief's commitment to proactive policing can be more

realistically interpreted as a new initiative for the department, one that in the long run will result in the community playing a greater role in its own crime prevention, with the police force serving two functions; first, to provide the crime prevention expertise and knowledge that will assist the individual citizen to increase his own sphere of safety by reducing his susceptibility to crime, and second, to provide a comprehensive and skilled reactive police force which can deal with reported crimes in an effective and positive fashion. This is a style which we have chosen to call Community Participatory Policing. In this, a safe community is one that melds the skill and expertise of the policeman with the cooperation of the citizen to reduce crime and increase clearance success. In that kind of atmosphere, the citizens' perception of safety and comfort increases, secure in the knowledge that both sides are actively pursuing crime prevention.

Of note is the Crimestoppers program, whose success has warranted their assigning one officer full time to this service, at the same time keeping its identity and function separate from the operations and community services end of the department. In this way I believe they are preserving the integrity and anonymity so vital to a program requiring total community cooperation in solving crimes.

Overall, the departmental style of organization reflects its preoccupation with police service versus community service. With the inroads being made by the chief in promoting a proactive initiative, one can see its gradual development through the activities of the community services section. The addition of the five community police stations will only serve to strengthen that view without depleting the reactive strength of the department. Hopefully the success of these stations will be felt not only in the community at large but also internally by the adoption of a proactive attitude by all members of the force regardless of their current operational beliefs.

The Need for Change

A rationale for change implies that things are happening, have happened, or will happen that warrant a re-evaluation of how an organization is approaching its delivery of service. The decision by the Victoria City police department to develop a "community-station" approach to pro-active policing grew out of this re-evaluation process (Hickling, 1984, and Holland, 1985) -- a process that was essential, given the escalating crime rates across the city over the last seven years and the inability of the reactive components of the department to stem the tide effectively.

In an attempt to describe the process undertaken, the topic will be approached in the following manner. First, a brief outline of the community services section as it existed prior to the actual implementation of the "community-stations" will be

given. Second, the increasing crime variables that have supplied the impetus for this new initiative will be highlighted. Third, the police and community responses to these crime increases will be discussed, reflecting on the impact of these responses. Finally, those factors which impacted on the overall Victoria development and thereby reinforced the need for new initiatives will be discussed.

The resultant picture will be a descriptive summary of how the department came to view the need for change and the subsequent decision to search out a strategy for actively dealing with this common problem of escalating crime. Common, yes, but one which required a more innovative solution, given the failure of more conventional approaches tried locally and in other jurisdictions across the country.

The Community Services section is administratively placed within the Support Services bureau. It is headed by a Sergeant who reports directly to the Chief or Division Inspector depending on the issue under consideration. The Chief has stressed the need for a direct hand in the decision making of this section to ensure it gets the administrative support the burgeoning programs require. Some rank and file view this relationship as a form of "preferential treatment" but this point of view tends to reflect their own vested interests in the reactive side of policing, rather than a recognition of the realistic struggles a non-traditional approach to policing experiences as it tries to establish its roots in the overall departmental operation.

A total of four constables have been assigned to the section on a full time basis. Each constable has identified responsibilities that cross the gamut of different services offered by the section. They work an irregular shift, given the broad range of activities they each perform at varying hours throughout the week. There is also a civilian coordinator of the Victim Services program, who is not a sworn member of the force, and is paid from outside resources. Collectively, they are responsible for the overall operation of the following programs: school liaison; block parents; neighbourhood/block watch; business liaison programs; Venturers; the Kiwanis wheels project; and, victim services.

Each of the regular staff report directly to the Sergeant-in-charge. However, many of their assignment responsibilities are generated through their own initiatives in the community. Individual autonomy is stressed within the section and certainly reflects itself within the attitudes of the staff. In fact, it was found that the individual officers worked far more hours than required by their position, simply because of the individual commitment to their perceived job responsibilities.

Overall, the community involvement has provided a major foundation of support to the current success of the various community service programs. The advent of the "community-station"

concept, however, purports the need to establish an even more expansive involvement by the community both as an active participant as well as financially through capital donations and/or grants.

The 1980's has seen a steady increase in the number of crimes committed in the city. There has been an overall increase of 31% in the reported crime rates between 1980 and 1986. Taken alone, this increase is quite dramatic but when related to other jurisdictions, both locally and otherwise, the picture becomes relatively alarming, particularly with Victoria's reputation for being a retirement, tourist center, well off the mainstream of the active business and industrial development of other Canadian cities, a fact often cited as a principle cause behind some increases. [See Table 2]

TABLE 2

	CRIMES/100,000 POPULATION (1985)
VICTORIA	212
VANCOUVER	162
OTTAWA	122
TORONTO	86
ESQUIMALT	114
SAANICH	91
OAK BAY	76

When we compare Victoria to its three neighbouring municipalities -- Esquimalt, Oak Bay and Saanich -- we see Victoria with anywhere from an 85% to 180% higher crime rate than those jurisdictions. Likewise, the latest rates show Victoria surpassing such large centres as Vancouver and Toronto by 30% and 147% respectively. Each of these figures reinforce the fact that Victoria has a growing problem, one which traditional policing methods have failed to control.

. Using police caseload as a point of comparison, once again Victoria surpasses the B.C. municipal average by 28% (i.e. 100 to 72 cases/Sworn member). This includes a 24% increase over Vancouver, a city 20 times the size of Victoria, both in population and developmental activity.

Crime comparisons among the five core neighbourhoods within the city were also made. All five neighbourhoods were assessed on four of the most common forms of crime occurring within the city as a whole: robbery, theft from auto, residential breaking and

entering, and business breaking and entering. A quick analysis of the data provides some interesting speculations about the crime patterns in the city. Theft from automobiles tends to be the most common crime in all areas with the exception of Fairfield, indicating a strong market for stolen automobile accessories, a fact reflected in local insurance company restrictions on coverage of in-car radios and stereo systems (ICBC, 1987). Residential breaking and enterings rank second in most areas except Blanshard, which has numerous business-orientated properties including the large central downtown office-business core.

Robberies are few in number, given that all areas, other than Blanshard, are truly bedroom neighbourhoods where the threat of holdup is limited. However, as one turns their gaze to Blanshard, once again the abundance of businesses, banks and late-night tourist activity increases the potential for such activity.

Business Break and Enter rates are low for the most part, except in Blanshard, which demonstrates the bedroom-neighbourhood emphasis in each of the other four areas. Each neighbourhood, with the exception of Blanshard, has only small areas of one or two blocks devoted to business operations. This localizing of business tends to concentrate any criminal activity into a small area surrounded by residential housing, thereby increasing detection and reducing the attractiveness of such businesses for after-hours forced entry crimes.

Victoria police officials have attempted to identify the most common variables affecting these crime increases in the hopes of extracting not only possible causes but also methods for effectively reversing the growth and preventing future increases. To that end, they have identified a number of variables that warrant discussion here.

First, the universal impact of restraint on the Canadian public has not eluded Victoria. Despite the high retirement population, the bulk of the citizenry rely on a weekly wage base for survival. Unfortunately, much of that income has come from public employers who have led the way across B.C. in restraint as an example to the private sector. The second-largest employment base in the city relates to the tourism sector. That, too, has been faced with cost cutting measures to maintain the city's competitiveness throughout the tourism market. Those measures often get translated into lost employment or minimal salary increases that place increased hardships on families to make ends meet, hardships that can be translated into criminal activity to secure added sources of income.

Second, the unemployment picture has been a fluctuating, yet stable, one for the city; fluctuating in the fact that we continue to increase annually in a gradual fashion with peaks and lows dependent on the seasonal impact of two of our major industries, tourism and wood processing; stable, in the sense that Victoria

continues to rank among the highest unemployment rates across the country every time Statistics Canada releases its latest figures.

Third, the West Coast lifestyle has certain qualities that tend to make it more susceptible to the impact of alcohol and drug abuse on the citizenry. One sees that most acutely in the stressful, competitive and high energy lifestyle of Vancouver, a city that also serves as a major port of entry into Canada, where access to drugs is readily available from illegal sources around the world. Victoria seems to encounter the same impact not because of a similar lifestyle but due to the mere proximity of location. Being a city on an island bounded by international waters, makes it and the surrounding area a logical drop-off place for drug smugglers. As a result, the city users tend to have a ready supply of illegal substances, despite the valiant efforts of the R.C.M.P. to curtail these activities.

Finally the mild climate of Victoria makes it a prime destination of transients attempting to escape the bitter winters and humid summers across the rest of the country. This has made it a haven for the homeless who rely on city park benches to provide them a place to sleep and local charities to provide a hot meal every day. These individuals cover all age groups, none of whom have any commitment to becoming a contributing and stable member of our society. Quite often, they become drug and alcohol abusers to suppress the loneliness felt by being a stranger. Both of those habits require a capital investment often secured through criminal activity. The theft trade, for a quick resale, is an active business in this city contributing to the large break and enter rates.

Each of these factors has been identified by the police department as compounding the crime picture to a point where numerous approaches have been tried to reduce their overall influence.

If one were to isolate those variables which have impacted directly on the police ability to control crime, three specific problems readily surface. First would be the effect of restraint on the force itself. As indicated earlier, the force had seen a reduction in strength of 7% since it reached its highest level of manpower in 1981. Much of that reduction had resulted from the restraint measures imposed on the department by City Hall. A direct result of this reduction has been the need to reshuffle personnel to ensure that the basic policing activities could be adequately met without sacrificing public expectations of safety and efficiency.

Second would have to be the relationship between the department and its political masters in City Hall, the Mayor's Office. Each municipal force is governed by a police board comprised of both elected and appointed government officials. At first glance, this structure is not uncommon to other provincial jurisdictions. The twist comes with the automatic appointment of

the Mayor as chairman of the local police board. This places the police department under the political philosophies and expectations of whoever is in power at a particular time. The potential for conflict increases if the Mayor and the department tend to have different agendas for the delivery of police services. Such was the case from 1981 to 1985 and the criticism from the Mayor's office as to the operation and function of the department has been well documented throughout this period by the local press. This attitude, along with the steady reductions in manpower, created an air of uncertainty and a resultant tension throughout the department. Union negotiations became quite confrontative in nature, to the point that job action became the rule rather than the alternative.

The entire community services section was restructured, both in emphasis and levels of manpower. A return to a reactive focus was stressed not out of desire but more from a fear that restraint measures were allowing the crime rate to get out of control -- a situation that was compounded by the ever-increasing criticism of police inefficiency coming from the Mayor's office. The department found itself in the perennial 'Catch-22' situation and morale suffered badly.

A third impact came with the introduction of Canada's new Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Police departments across the country have viewed this legislation, with its concomitant procedural changes, as severely handicapping the police attempts to effectively enforce the law. They cite the rising number of cases being dismissed by the courts as evidence of the new laws better serving the accused than the community. The demand by the courts that the police attend to detail while not infringing on an individual's rights has created an ever-increasing demand on police attention to report writing and court testimony. These take time away from the street, often leaving the department undermanned and the city under-protected (Goldstein, 1987).

This situation, compounded by the increasing crime rates and manpower reductions, created a situation that demanded the department become innovative if it hoped to cope effectively with what was becoming an exasperating problem. Interim, and in some cases, band-aid type measures, were implemented to cope with the most immediate service concerns. These included: first, a prioritization of call responses, with the most urgent situations getting priority attention and other requests simply being stacked up until their turn came up for action; second, the implementation of a four-man 'strike force' that could be called upon to work in those areas where criminal activity was getting beyond tolerable levels; third, the courts cooperating with scheduled police testimony by summoning on-duty officers away from patrol only minutes before they had to take the stand; and finally, the police union agreeing to substitute time-off in lieu of overtime pay to keep the budget in line with City Hall allocations. This latter action was meant solely as a stop-gap measure to preserve staff positions that would have been lost through a budget shortfall.

Nevertheless, it enabled the department to retain the force strength at a time when it was most vital.

Each of these measures has proven productive, but is in no way seen as the ideal way for curbing the progressive crime increase the city is experiencing. Alternative approaches to policing, both reactive and pro-active in nature, had to be developed to curb the crime growth and bring it back to a level that could be effectively managed by department staff.

When one talks about crime increasing and the subsequent reaction to that increase, one needs to understand the community's perspective as well (Sundeen & Mathieu, 1976). The citizens of Victoria have been most active in their concern over the growing problem. Historically, the city has been considered a safe place to live. The freedom to walk the streets and parks during the day and at night, free of fear, has always been considered a right for everyone. This is even more important when one considers Victoria's large retirement population and the pleasure they take from enjoying the many parks and public facilities available to everyone.

Unfortunately, the climbing crime rates and subsequent inability of the police department to stem the tide has created a restless population intent on restoring the feelings of security and safety experienced for so long. The public response, observed in this study, tended to come in four ways, each resulting from how the citizen viewed the police role and what their expectations of that role were.

Research has shown quite readily that an individual's fear of crime and concern for their safety is not necessarily linked to their being victimized (Baumer, 1978; Clemente & Kleinman, 1976; Gies, 1987; Kennedy & Silverman, 1985). Rather, the mere knowledge of crime in the neighbourhood is sufficient stimulus to cause their fear to increase. This appears to be the situation over the last few years here in Victoria. The police move to a 'priority-call' response system seems to be exacerbating the problem somewhat, making the elderly, in particular, quite concerned as to how the police view their fears and their requests for assistance. There is no doubt that this elevated fear level is slowly encompassing the various neighbourhoods despite police efforts to keep the problem in hand.

A second response concerns the general apathy of some of the public when it comes to what the police can actually do to stop crime. Responses like, "The police won't do anything anyway" or "Why call the police, they'll only tell you that they can't do anything" are not uncommon in the community. Part of this is probably due to the actual response a citizen gets when calling on the police for help; but part of it also comes from a general frustration within the community about the ability of the justice system to deal effectively with the offender (Eck & Spelman, 1987). Many people have come to view the Criminal Justice system

as a process favouring the accused rather than the accuser. Repeatedly, examples of unsolved crimes, charge dismissals or seemingly insignificant punishments are reported in the media much to the frustration of the public in general. This eventually creates a situation where the public become skeptical about the effectiveness of our justice system to ensure the safety of our neighbourhoods (Davis, 1985). Victoria appears to be suffering from that skepticism, which often gets translated into an apathetic attitude when it comes to what can be done about increasing crime rates. They fail to see their own role in this process and would rather blame the police, the courts, or the prisons for failing to do their job. A common response one hears when discussing increasing crime rates is, "What are the police doing about it? After all, we are paying them to take care of the problem, aren't we?"

A third response was radically different from the first two and drew instant police attention. In the spring of 1986 a small group of citizens, frustrated by a rash of local crimes and the lack of police success to control this, took to the streets in the evening hours to carry out an armed, "guardian angel" type patrol of their neighbourhood. When this was brought to the attention of the police, a joint meeting was quickly arranged and a process for dealing with the problem was ironed out. The incident, however, seemed to highlight the growing frustration by the citizenry and forced the police to escalate action to develop programs for handling the growing problem.

A fourth response was political in nature but certainly reflected a reaction by politicians to the growing concerns of the electorate. During the years 1981 to 1985, the restraint program from City Hall was in full force. At the same time, crime rates began to escalate and the police department was told to re-evaluate their resources to get a handle on this problem. Many reactive programs were subsequently reinforced by taking away much of the pro-active element that was in place and reassigning those staff members to operational duties. By doing this, many of the goals for increasing community responsibilities in crime prevention were put aside temporarily. Unfortunately the police quickly lost any impact a community prevention approach might have on getting crime rates under control. The "partnership in crime control" view of the department that was in effect stalled before it had a real chance to demonstrate its anticipated effectiveness. The sole responsibility for crime control once again rested with the police department whose shrinking staff complement was finding it harder and harder to meet the basic needs. It was another proverbial "Catch-22" situation which could only change under a new administration. The fall of 1985 saw the Mayor's Office change hands, with the new administration campaigning long and hard on a platform of crime control through new police-community initiatives. That subsequent change in administration signalled an opportunity for police services to develop new strategies for turning the problem around and at the same time begin

to design long-term initiatives for crime prevention that could extend well into the 1990's.

In summary, then, it is readily apparent from the discussion so far that Victoria had to re-think their current service with a view to developing new strategies that would enable them to accomplish two overall objectives: the development of a strong and efficient reactive police service that was capable of handling citizen complaints and successfully controlling the crime rates within the city; and, the need to develop a Community-Policing Partnership that will ensure a strong role for the community in crime prevention.

The overall success of both objectives demanded a melding of both the reactive and pro-active forces within the department as well as a sincere recognition by the public that they, too, play an active role in their own crime-free destiny. Without these new strategies, one can readily foresee the current problems only accelerating out of control.

The citizen's perception of fear is directly related to how safe and secure he/she feels within the community. Victoria will continue to grow as a retirement haven for Canadians, a group that relies on an efficient police force to make their remaining years as safe and secure as possible. At the same time, the tourism industry is dependent on the city being safe and comfortable for visitors. Without that tourism dollar, Victoria will find itself faced with rising unemployment and a subsequent reduction in tax base.

The failure to implement new strategies, while simply retaining the status quo, would be ultimately disastrous for the city. The police recognize that and consequently have set about developing a number of strategies that will ensure they meet those overall objectives identified earlier. They realize that one police role must always be reactive in nature to ensure that the citizens' need for assistance can be met and that those who blatantly abuse their social freedoms can be charged and punished for their abuse.

They also recognize that ultimate crime control and prevention can only emerge from a dynamic partnership with the community. A community which recognizes that it, too, must play an active role in this partnership, sharing with the police the responsibility for preventing crime by actively reducing the opportunity element and at the same time providing the police with the necessary information to help them solve crimes (Davis, 1985; Goldstein, 1987).

The long-range impact of both objectives will be a cost-efficient and effective crime-control service that can deal with the immediate problems as well as anticipating future problems. With these thoughts in mind, we can now explore precisely how the

department arrived at the decision to implement the community police-station strategy.

A Strategy for Action

The decision to proceed with the development of the community police station concept has evolved primarily from two initiatives. First was an interest by Chief Snowdon in the "mini-station" program that had been originally developed in Detroit in 1974; in particular, the work of Larry Holland, under whose command the stations had been placed.

This interest by the chief resulted in sending a constable to Detroit to observe the operation of the mini-station. Constable Hickling's report of November 1984 succinctly described the operation of the mini-stations and their overall relationship to the crime prevention programs within the Detroit police department. This was followed by a return visit from Inspector Holland, two years later, where he had the opportunity to discuss the mini-station concept in detail with the Victoria police administration.

Second was the one-year experiment with a 'store front' police station in 1983/84. Although that experiment had to be discontinued, due to lack of funding, the overall impact had indicated that such a service appealed to the citizenry.

Furthermore, the community station experiment proved to the administration that such a service could be successful, given a more solid strategy for implementation: that is, a program that would have a solid financial foundation within the departmental base budget, allowing it to survive beyond a limited time frame. There is no doubt that the lack of money was the prime reason for the failure of the original community station -- that and the fact that the department had failed to develop a solid contingency plan for maintaining the operation of the station once the grant money ran out. In times of restraint, one might be very careful about implementing new programs without first developing a solid plan for their continuance once the "seed money" has ended. Victoria made that mistake and they were determined not to do it again.

The timing was right for change to occur. Various factors were compounding the situation, making the opportunity for new development readily apparent. Each of the following played a major role in creating that opportunity:

1) The ever-increasing crime rates that seemed to continue, despite the best efforts of the department to bring them under control.

2) The subsequent increase in fear expressed by the residents and businessmen who were concerned in particular about the long-term impact of such fear on the economy of the city.

3) The growing impact on police morale, effectiveness and efficiency by the fiscal restraint policies of the city administration.

4) The increasing concern of businessmen and citizens over the growing number of drug and alcohol related crimes in the downtown business core. In particular, the long range impact that this situation would have on the tourism industry, given that the majority of the tourist facilities are located there.

5) The strong belief and commitment of Chief Snowdon to the community policing concept despite the pressures, both internal and external, to limit the pro-active approach while strengthening the more traditional reactive style of law enforcement.

6) The election, in the fall of 1985, of a new community oriented municipal council, led by a mayor committed to returning safety to the streets, ensured by a good working relationship between the police department and the community it serves.

The initial stages in the police strategy required that some method be undertaken to identify both public and police concerns, that impacted on the philosophical and operational aspects of the force. To that end, city hall and the police department developed a coordinated approach for getting the necessary feedback and identifying the appropriate strategies for dealing with it. This became identified as the Mayor's Task Force on Policing, which stressed three priorities: 1) Identifying community concerns that involve police services; 2) Establishing community-police programs that will enhance crime prevention; and 3) Reviewing the internal operation of the police department to maximize morale, communication and effectiveness.

A series of six community meetings were held, one in each of the five neighbourhoods of the city, along with a sixth meeting for downtown businessmen. Each meeting was chaired by a member of the Police Board with members of City Council and the police administration present as well. Citizens, businessmen and community group leaders were all invited to attend the various meetings. Whenever possible, the local community centre was chosen to house the meeting.

Each meeting had as its primary objective, to identify how the community viewed the police process within their neighbourhood and how that process could be improved to meet the community's law enforcement needs. This meant they would not only discuss the present programs but those programs scheduled for implementation in the near future. In addition, the community members were encouraged to discuss any concerns they had about the police service and how it might be improved. This opportunity for open dialogue was well received by all sides.

Each neighbourhood identified their own concerns and whenever possible stressed those problems that they felt required closer police attention. An analysis of the minutes of those meetings clearly identified a number of common concerns. They include: the fact that the media's coverage of crime in Victoria quite often makes people afraid to go out after dark; that police visibility in the various neighbourhoods is minimal at the best of times; that there is a need for people to feel free to communicate their concerns to the police as it is one of the principle means for the police to deal with current and potential problems; that less than 1% of the population are controlling the lives of the other 99%; and finally, that good police-community relations demands that police officers become familiar faces in the neighbourhoods they serve. Each of these point to the need for police to become better acquainted with the neighbourhoods they serve. This involves both a clear-cut police presence in each neighbourhood as well as a sincere effort by the community to become involved in their own protection and crime prevention.

These meetings also served as the vehicle to introduce the new Neighbourhood Watch program which required extensive community support and involvement to be successful. It was felt this new program best reflected a beginning effort by communities to police themselves and to provide the necessary crime prevention activities that will assist the police in reducing crime occurrences. Finally, each meeting identified those law enforcement concerns unique to each neighbourhood that required police attention and were not being met by existing services.

At the same time as the community meetings were being planned and carried out, a second initiative of the task force was being developed to undertake an internal review of the operations of the overall department. That involved the establishment of a Strategic Planning Committee, given the mandate "to develop a multi-year strategy which would lead to policing excellence in the City of Victoria".

This committee had representation from all three levels of police operation: management, Police Board and union representatives. It hoped to achieve its mandate through three objectives: first, to achieve the best deployment of available resources; second, to achieve the best support available from non-police resources to complement those provided by public funds; and third, to achieve the most cooperative relationship possible, in delivery of service, from the board, management and union personnel. Internal communication from the Chief's office encouraged all members to either actively participate or cooperate in this process. Five sub-committees were struck, with membership coming from each of the three concerned groups. Each committee was given a guiding mandate to develop and were asked to identify both effective and problematic factors in their area of concern. At the same time, they were to make any and all recommendations for change that became apparent. Those five sub-committees and their mandates were: 1) Personnel Committee; to look at the performance planning

systems, evaluation, training needs and other personnel matters and, to make recommendations in each of these areas. 2) Management/Staff Committee; to assess the subject of communications within the department and in particular, to focus on inter-divisional and management/staff communications; 3) Information System Committee; to examine the present internal communications system, computerization needs, information sharing needs, quality control of reports, the impact of a 911 system, and, the civilianization aspect of an information system; 4) Facilities Committee: to determine the present and future facility needs of the department and, to make all recommendations concerning both short and long term plans; and 5) Deployment Committee: to examine the long term resource needs of the department in relation to manpower and the deployment of those resources. As each committee finished its task, it reported back to the Planning group who in turn developed strategies for the implementation of the various recommendations. These strategies were then forwarded to the Police Board for action.

Ancillary to the work of the Task Force was a request from the downtown merchants that some kind of action be taken to curb the rapidly growing crime and nuisance rate in that seven-block area, reflecting a concern for the impact on both the business operation and tourist activities. The Mayor quickly responded to their concerns by forming a Downtown Task Force, to identify immediate courses of action to bring those problems under control. She tightened up their schedule of operation, expecting them to make their recommendations within three to four months. Before long, that committee had isolated a number of observable problems that warranted action. These primarily focussed on the abuse of liquor privileges enjoyed by a few major downtown hotels. These abuses had created what Kelling calls "quality of life" problems (1987: 93) that, judging by the complaints received by the committee, were linked in the citizens' minds to personal danger and serious crime. The police were heavily involved in these order maintenance activities but were losing the battle due to the sheer size of the problem. On such indexes as public disturbance, intoxication, assault and robbery the evening hours exhibited a 250% increase in activity over the daytime (1000 : 400 occurrences) during 1986.

The committee acted quickly and was able to mobilize various authorities to clamp down on the hotels under the threat of losing their liquor licences. Modifications were made to sales periods and pressure was placed on the hotels to ensure that fire regulations and Liquor Control Board rules were obeyed. This restructuring quickly brought much of the visible problem under control.

One needs to be cautious with such swift results, particularly if you consider what has become known as the crime displacement hypothesis (Gabor, 1981). This alteration of criminal activity, as a consequence of the preventive efforts by the task force, may have really only resulted in criminal pattern changes so that offenders could circumvent those preventive measures

instituted. Gabor reports that offenders often relocate the site of their activities; select different targets within the original site; may alter their tactics used or the time of their violations; or may even engage in different forms of criminality. Behaviour such as this would simply indicate that the task force action has failed to deal with the primary criminogenic factors at play here. In other words, the stabilization of crime rates has simply evolved from a shift in the criminal patterns to compensate for the criminal target hardening activities recommended by the task force.

It became apparent from these various activities of the Mayor's Task Force that a community focussed strategy was essential if the department hoped to get a handle on the crime rates over the duration. However the police administration recognized that they could not curb the crime rate alone, but that they needed the involvement of the community in an active way. Furthermore, they realized that a good percentage of their calls were of a non-criminal nature, further reducing the time available to investigate active cases. To that end, they realized that some form of police-community cooperation was the only way to redirect these non-criminal issues to a resource that did not take the patrol officer away from the prime responsibility of reacting to crime.

It was decided that the community police station concept could readily serve as a suitable medium for the development of this police-community relationship. Based on some of the Detroit "mini-station" characteristics, along with the experiences undergone in their own experiment of two years earlier, the police administration put this strategy under immediate development. They were very cognizant, however, of not wanting to make the same mistakes as before, particularly when it came to long term funding.

As a result of this, much of the initial planning for the stations was delayed while the department sought additional funds in their new 1987 base budget to ensure the necessary police manpower to operate the envisioned five neighbourhood stations. As part of their presentation to City Council, a skeletal plan of the operation of these stations was developed. It must be stressed, however, that the funding issue was paramount in the eyes of the police administration, despite their voiced commitment to implement the stations, regardless of the outcome of these budget hearings.

The Community Station Model

Recognizing the need to have at least a vision of the proposed community police station prepared in time for the budget meeting, the administration drafted a skeletal outline comprising the ideas they had discussed to that point in time. Included are some additional comments that describe a little more thoroughly the structure being proposed.

Location: Each station will be strategically located to enhance accessibility by and exposure to the community. It will be considered a store-front operation utilizing existing space within the neighbourhood. Strong emphasis will be placed on its location near other community facilities which will enhance its exposure due to the extensive traffic flow in the area.

Staffing: Each station will be staffed by one uniformed officer and a core of 15 to 20 volunteers, especially trained to staff the office and deal with citizen concerns. Wherever possible, the volunteers will be drawn from all age groups with an extensive use of retired individuals.

Hours of Operation: Each station will be open from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., seven days a week. The staffing patterns will be arranged through consultation between the station constable and the core of volunteers. The key here is to ensure that the station is not seen simply as a 9-to-5, five-day-a-week operation.

Police Duties: The station officer will be responsible for the overall operation and function of the station. He/she will screen, select and see to the training of all volunteers. They will deliver crime prevention lectures whenever requested by a community group and will coordinate a number of community service programs currently delivered by central office. These would more than likely include, school liaison, target hardening, property identification, Neighbourhood Watch, and victim services. The officer will work with various community groups to develop new strategies for crime prevention and control. They will be expected to carry out crime follow-ups, particularly those involving residential breaking and entering, noise complaints and neighbour disputes. They will also work at coordinating their activities with those of the operations division to ensure a total police service for their neighbourhood.

nce trained, the volunteers will take on the bulk of the activity surrounding the daily operation of the community station. They will be expected to maintain the office, arrange meetings, dispense crime prevention materials and information, take reports of minor incidents, make appropriate referrals to social agencies, offer services to the victims of crime, and check on the welfare of the elderly. At no time would they be expected to undertake any duties considered exclusive to the area of law enforcement.

It was the administration's wish that a total of five community stations would eventually come on-line. Although each station would have to develop according to the needs of the individual neighbourhood, the overall anticipated results for each area would hopefully be the same. These include the reduction in crime, the increase in a citizen's perception of safety, an increase in citizen satisfaction with the police service, and the reduction in calls for police to residential areas, thereby creat-

ing the opportunity for a more concentrated police effort in the downtown core.

As a result of the budget presentation, the City Council approved the addition of three new constable positions for 1987, allowing the first three stations to open. This would be followed by one new community station constable to be hired in each of 1988 and 1989, bringing to five the number of stations opened within 3 years.

The capital costs of each operation are being considered as separate issues. A specific strategy for securing the funds and items needed to operationalize each office has yet to be developed at this point. It is planned, however, to open the first two stations in the early to late fall, 1987, followed by a third in early 1988.

It should be pointed out, however, that despite the three new positions granted by City Council, the actual station staff will have to come from the current strength, leaving other police sectors short-staffed while the new recruits complete their first level of training at the police academy. This has a number of the rank and file concerned that the temporary loss in manpower will allow the crime problem to get further out of hand.

A Point of Caution

The process of implementing the new Community Police Stations has so far followed a rather non-traditional management style of development. This refers to the emphasis by the department on securing the additional manpower budget in advance of any serious program or operational development. Most management styles stress the importance of developing your program on paper first before going for the necessary budget. This allows one's presentation to be thorough and anticipatory of questions posed by the finance committee. At the same time, it allows one to anticipate operational costs and thereby make money requests as realistic as possible. Inadequately funded programs, especially new programs, frequently run a risk of failure when sufficient monies are not available to cover unanticipated costs.

Victoria failed to do this necessary development and certainly runs the risk of financing problems should costs exceed budget allocations. We recognize the ingenuity of this department in finding the "money" somewhere but simply caution them to be aware of some of the pitfalls that almost inadvertently surface when a project lacks a thorough pre-implementation plan. There are a number of possible problems that can arise . For example, extending the length of time for coming on-stream due to the need for the necessary planning and development that still has to be done, often conflicts with a politician's expectations for immediate action once a new budget has been approved. Too long a delay in implementation could make them suspicious of the viability of the new program. City politics in B.C. allow for

only a two-year term of office and politicians intent on running for re-election often want to see new initiatives well underway by re-election time to help their bid for voters' support. Similarly, a failure to develop a solid program design prior to requesting budget runs the risk that certain operational expenses will exceed available funds, putting the program in jeopardy. Quite often, administrators find themselves taking the necessary funds from other areas of operation which in turn impacts on those services and staff morale. The department also runs the risk of being accused of poor planning particularly if the program fails due to lack of money or a similar reason. This is an unfortunate evil that raises its ugly head particularly in times of restraint with so many public services vying for the same budget. Program failures make politicians overly cautious when future, new ideas are proposed that require additional funding. Finally, inadequate pre-planning increases the chance of an "I told you so" reaction from department personnel if the program falters. Part of any planned change demands total staff participation to secure cooperation and support. Such involved staff go out of their way to ensure a program's chances for success.

Without sounding overly critical, the above cautions would seem in order at this point to forewarn other departments considering similar initiatives.

The remaining sections of this paper are largely hypothetical in nature. The model proposed is based on the data gathered from various sources and is as realistic as possible. It really illustrates the structural and operational elements that go into the establishment of a Community Police Station in Victoria. Wherever practical, reference will be made to the successes and mistakes of others in the hopes that what is proposed will be the best scenario possible, given the environment in Victoria.

This model will provide a base-line for comparison as we enter the second phase of the review once the first stations come on line in the fall of 1987. That comparison will illustrate the differences between the hypothetical and the actual in a practical and educational manner. Hopefully, much will be learned from that process that will prove useful to other police departments.

A Model for Community Police Station Development

Planning Committee: Central to the development of the Community Police Stations is the need to establish a strong, effective planning committee whose responsibility will be to design the actual, operational programs of the community stations. It is important that this committee be representative of both the department and the communities each station will serve. Not only must this committee be representative but it also must be prepared to adapt to what Goldstein calls, "a different way of thinking about the police" (1987: 8). This proposes three themes for police: community cooperation and more involvement of the commu-

nity; greater accountability to the community; and, improved service to the community.

To that end, the planning committee should have membership from the four levels of police operation: Police Board, Administration, Community Services, and Operations Division; plus community and business representatives from each of the five neighbourhoods scheduled to receive a station. The latter is imperative, even though the stations will come on-stream gradually. Each neighbourhood, despite their similarities, has significant demographic differences and unique lifestyles such that each station must develop an operational style relative to the neighbourhood being served. Therefore, any overall operational design must be flexible enough to allow for these differences without taking away from the principle objectives. This differential feedback loop will allow the planning committee to take into consideration what will be expected or demanded by the different neighbourhoods (Alpert & Dunham, 1986).

Representation from the four levels of police operation is essential given the overall impact of the community station on the entire department. Acceptance by the department is vital to the success of the stations, particularly since they represent the pro-active policing component which research indicated was not acceptable to some of the rank and file. Goldstein carries the need for acceptance even further by the following comments:

> I sense a growing feeling among administrators committed to community policing that while it might be necessary, in an incubation period, to separate the officers engaged in community policing from the rest of the agency, separate units with different orientations are simply not workable in the long run. The concept of community policing, if it is to produce the desired results, must be the exclusive operating philosophy of the department. This means that the values and beliefs articulated by the administration must apply equally to the officer who responds to emergency calls and the officer permanently situated in a specific neighbourhood. Ultimately, the organization of a police force and the allocation of personnel might be dictated primarily by the desire to serve, in a pro-active fashion, the broad needs of neighbourhoods (1987: 12).

Although Victoria's department is a long way from achieving this kind of target, the fact remains that police input at all levels cannot help but enhance the quality of service that will eventually develop.

A first task of this committee will be to establish workable objectives, ones that meet the three themes of community involvement, accountability and improved service mentioned earlier. Each

objective needs to be measurable for evaluation purposes. At the same time, each objective must be operational, identifying tasks that need to be accomplished. Included among these are: determining office location; design and furnishing of the office; liaison with other community agencies; the selection of community station constable; criteria for and selection of volunteers, hours of operation; training of constable and volunteers; determining what existing community service programs to place in the station; working relationships between community stations and other police services (i.e., patrol, traffic, detective and juvenile sections); reporting structure for each station within the department; police-community governance of each station; departmental staff training as to the function and operation of the station; communication networks; and, ongoing evaluation procedures.

At the same time the committee will have to identify all of the financial needs essential to the set up and operation of the station. Each cost needs to be assessed and assigned to some resource. It has already been reported that city council had approved the police manpower needs but many of the ancillary operational costs have yet to be determined, let alone assigned to a particular resource. Granted, some of the daily operational costs, like telephone, office supplies, and transportation, will more than likely come from existing department allocations, but there are a wide variety of capital and non-capital items, which must be funded from elsewhere.

Those resources must be identified in committee and a finance sub-committee could be struck to approach them. It would be wise to include one or two businessmen on this committee who can approach their colleagues for donations, both physical and financial. At the same time, both the Provincial and Federal governments should be approached for support, particularly in those areas which demand outside assistance such as the development of training programs, evaluation and published resource literature. Governments are most supportive when it comes to these non-capital items. Numerous foundations could also be approached for assistance and are often excellent resources when some component of research is included within a proposal.

There is no reason why each community station could not become actively involved in their own fund raising programs as well. It could prove to be an effective means for increasing community awareness of the service while fostering citizen involvement.

Station Location and Structure: The site for each station is vital given the need for broad community exposure and accessibility. We recommend the use of a storefront premises which puts the police officer into the community at all times, forcing them to deal with the public constantly (Eck and Spelman, 1986). At the same time, the unpretentious nature of such a setting seems to make people more willing to walk in if they wish to provide information or make a complaint.

Eck and Spelman report that storefront police operations tend to accomplish a number of things more traditional settings cannot, including: acceptance by the community; increased communication between police and citizens; and reduced fear of crime. Whenever possible, the station could be placed near other community service offices. This allows the public to view the police as part of the available social services network and also enhances direct referral between agencies when the need arises.

Each station requires sufficient floor space to allow public and private activities to take place. The public need to know that the door is always open to their inquiries. At the same time, if they wish a confidential conversation, they can adjourn behind closed doors. Given that each station will operate daily for 12 hours, there also must be adequate washroom and lunchroom facilities for both police and volunteer staff.

Since communications will form a vital aspect of all station activity, telephone and computer links to police headquarters would seem imperative. The computer hookup should eventually prove invaluable in not only providing access to information but in storing data which are generated from the daily operation of the station. Comfortable furniture will enhance conversation and the ready availability of printed literature for public consumption will keep crime prevention knowledge at the fingerprints of all citizens. Bulletin and notice boards will prove valuable tools to keep everyone aware of upcoming events. Overall the station atmosphere needs to be as informal as possible, but with an air of efficiency and professionalism to ensure confidence in the service.

Staffing - Police: Choosing the right person for the job is a crucial part of the entire development process. That individual will be associated with the community view of the department and therefore needs to reflect the image of policing that the department wants throughout the community. Putting the job up for competition will accomplish a number of things. First, it ensures that all staff have equal opportunity to compete for the job. This demonstrates that the administration is open in its choice and that everyone on staff has the potential to fill the role. Second, the competition indirectly circulates information about the new approach, encouraging those officers who have even an inkling of curiosity to seek out more information on both the job and the program. Third, it ensures that the administration does not overlook good candidates by simply selecting who it thinks will do the job best. Quite often, the best candidate is not necessarily the most obvious. Finally, an open competition demonstrates to all staff that the new program is a department program and not simply an extension of community services. The latter point is important for Victoria since interviews with rank and file officers revealed a strong belief that community services and community police stations were synonymous. This created a view that the station officers would not be 'real police officers' but simply an extension of the 'do-gooders' in community service.

If the new positions are to be viewed as departmental positions then the selection committee needs to reflect that view. Therefore, membership should include operations representatives as well as community services and administration personnel.

Besides establishing a selection committee that is truly representative of the entire department, the most important task will be to establish the criteria for selection. These characteristics should reflect the philosophy behind the community station concept as well as the ability to handle the various responsibilities in the job. To that end, the following characteristics should be included in the selection criteria: first class constable status; experience in both traffic and patrol divisions; a belief in the pro-active philosophy of policing; experience with community groups (either on or off duty); good communication skills; demonstrated creativity and organizational skills; supervisory experience; program planning skills; good writing skills; and the ability to work independently and with limited supervision. Each of these demonstrates the need for an individual who has the capacity to develop and supervise a community program reflective of neighbourhood needs, while still maintaining overall departmental objectives.

Staffing - Volunteers: There is no doubt that the backbone of the operation of the stations will be the core of volunteers. Exact numbers, hours of work and duties will be dependent on the extent of the services offered by each station. Each volunteer needs to reflect the philosophy of the community station as well as that of the department. Their presence will add credibility to the need for community cooperation, at the same time as providing an acceptable medium for gathering community support for the program.

As much as possible, the selection of volunteers should simulate the population demographics within the neighbourhood. Hopefully a few retired or former Criminal Justice employees will be recruited and their experience will prove helpful in the training of other volunteers.

Duties will range from general reception and response to inquiries, to specific office and record keeping duties. Some volunteers may be assigned to specific community service programs, such as Victim Services, that will be based in each station. Other volunteer groups, for example Venturers, may participate occasionally as part of their group's overall activities.

Given that each station will operate twelve hours a day, seven days week, a complement of fifty volunteers will be required. This allows a station to operate three, four-hour shifts per day with two volunteers on duty per shift. It also requires a volunteer to work just one shift per week with one off every sixth week. This level of involvement is flexible, dependent on the time commitment each individual is willing to make and the types of programs and duties expected by each station.

Selection of volunteers should be a cooperative venture between the station constable, the Victoria Volunteer Bureau and the Community Advisory Board. Selection criteria will, of course, be dependent on the programs offered by each station. However, the following general characteristics are suggested: good communication skills; acceptance of a police-community relationship in crime prevention; ability to learn and pass on their knowledge; reliability and trustworthiness; pass a security check; flexible in hours of work, within reason; cooperative and able to follow instruction; and good listening skills.

It is expected that the volunteer will become competent in most aspects of the daily operation of the station. However, they will at no time be expected to undertake normal police procedures of arrest, charging or detention. Those activities will be deferred to sworn members of the department.

Training

Training is a vital element to the success of each community station both within the department and throughout the neighbourhood it will serve. The type and extent of such training is highly dependent on the programs developed for each station, thus the need for as clear a developmental plan as possible. In Victoria, there are two realities that will govern any training plans for station staff. First, the reality that the luxury of time and money to prepare each assigned constable for the job does not exist to any great extent. The opportunity to draw these men and women from active service for, say, six months, to attend course and skill exchanges in preparation for station placement is financially and strategically impossible. Second is the fact that no clear cut training program is available locally or nationally that would prepare the individual for the multi-faceted expectations coming from the operation of a community station.

These two realities will force the department to be innovative in its training strategies, recognizing that much of what they do will be breaking new ground in the field of community policing here in Canada. To that end, a two-pronged attack on the training needs is suggested.

Community Station Training: As stated previously, careful attention must be paid to the selection of both the police officer and the volunteers who will staff the individual station. This will enable the department to select individuals who already possess many of the skills essential to the operation, skills that do not have to be taught but simply re-tooled to fit the program objectives. Selection of the station constable should be done as early as possible to enable that individual to become an integral part of the overall planning team described earlier.

During this period of development, each constable should have the opportunity to develop their skills in three, vital components essential to the overall operation of the station: community

organization; program development and planning; and computer literacy. Each of these area will impact directly on the daily operation and long-term planning of the stations' programs. The necessary funding and time off to pursue these skills should be considered a priority by the police administration.

Volunteer training programs will be based on the perceived operation of the individual station. Selection procedures should allow the department to pick those individuals with as many of the prerequisite skills as possible. Once chosen, those individuals will enter an in-service training program specifically designed for them. A training manual must be developed, which can be given to each volunteer to serve as an ongoing resource to their daily activities. Regularly scheduled staff development meetings need to be planned to serve in an in-service training capacity once the station opens its doors. The model for pre-service training, currently used by the Victim Service program, could serve as a template for the community station program. In addition, a departmental training committee should be set up and chaired by the department staff-development supervisor. They will see to the ongoing development and review of training programs plus request the necessary budget to allow for development and evaluation strategies. Once a number of stations are on-line, the opportunity for shared learning experiences would be beneficial. Regularly scheduled inter-station training seminars should be set up, preferably every three months. Attendance at one such seminar in a twelve-month period should be considered mandatory for every volunteer. These sessions would be in addition to the regular in-service program established within their own station.

Cooperative relationships could be established with Camosun College and other learning institutions to assist the staff in the planning and delivery of training sessions. Volunteers could have ready access to current college offerings, both credit and non-credit. At the same time, college resources could be called upon to provide specialized training in areas strategic to the operation of the community station. The station volunteer program could also serve as a ready resource of practical experience for students in the college Criminal Justice program. There is no reason why that program could not serve as a source of volunteers committed to the philosophy and objectives of the community station.

Serious consideration should also be given to establishing a cooperative training program for these students. Using the four month summer break as an opportunity for full-time employment, the college and police department could jointly develop a work-education experience that would be eligible for both federal and provincial training grants. Such a program would provide full-time relief-help during the summer months, allowing the normal complement of volunteers to take their annual vacations. It could also give the station constable those additional full-time personnel needed to implement new crime prevention strategies viewed as important to the community.

Police Department Training: Ultimately, community policing will work only if rank and file police officers buy into the concept (Goldstein, 1987). Research by such individuals as Holdaway (1984) provides dramatic evidence of the capacity of rank and file officers to sabotage community oriented policing policies that do not reflect their values. Victoria police department runs this risk as much as any department described in the literature.

An analysis of the statements made during the police interviews gives the clear impression that many staff are skeptical about this move into community policing. Most view it as an interesting option down the road, after the reactive policing functions have been strengthened to the point that people are able to once again return safety to the streets. Until then, the current efforts are viewed with skepticism and in some cases anger, due to the pattern of depleting operational manpower to staff community services programs. Some officers have even seen this expansion into pro-active policing as one of the principle factors resulting in the increasing crime rates. They believe that the only effective deterrent against crime is a strong reactive-policing component that solves crimes and secures convictions. According to these staff, that is the expected view of police service by the community. As a result, the new 'strike-force' unit tends to get full marks as an effective program while the community station concept garners suspicion -- suspicion more out of operational ignorance than direct, observable experience on the part of the line officer.

It would seem, then, that the community police station initiative demands an extensive in-service training program to ensure rank and file support. Such a program would need to address three levels. First would be a series of educational experiences covering the community policing focus in general and the community police station specifically. Resistance to change often evolves from sheer ignorance about a program rather than any specific opposition to the program. It was readily apparent from the interviews that most rank and file have minimal knowledge about the stations, their purpose, or their anticipated function. Closely tied with this was an unclear view of precisely what pro-active policing involves and how it can effectively control crime. This knowledge component needs to be delivered across the department in a clear, comprehensive fashion. At the same time, a process of keeping all staff informed of program development must be set in place. This will prevent complaints about 'lack of information' from impacting on the general staff reaction to the program.

Second is to arrange for a greater involvement on the part of rank and file officers in the development of the community station concept. As Goldstein points out: "The 'common-sense' aspects of community policing, which receive the enthusiastic endorsement of police officers, and the values an agency seeks to develop in implementing community policing often happily coincide" (1987: 14). The input from patrol or traffic officers will enable the

development committee to be more cognizant of the conditions under which the police currently work; conditions that may negatively impact on the new program if ignored. At the same time, involvement in planning often commits the officer to support its success, particularly when he or she assisted in the eventual implementation plan. There is no greater fan of a program than someone who helps design it.

Third is to build in linkages between the work of the community stations and the normal police duties of the operations division. Police will readily see the value of the stations once they are able to view how it operates in relation to their own duties, particularly in mutually-supportive relationships. This overlap of cooperation will allow the street 'cop' to recognize that both approaches are interdependent and working towards the same goal of crime prevention. These linkages should be continually evaluated as to their viability; and adjustments made whenever a better way for doing something emerges.

To ensure that cross-department relationships continue, representatives of the operations division should be assigned to each station's Community Advisory Board. This will not only keep the street 'cop' current but will also enable the community to present their concerns and expectations to a cross-section of departmental staff.

Operational Strategies: The daily operation of the station will involve both a service as well as a crime prevention function. It is expected that many of the routine requests for information and service, currently dealt with by headquarters, will be redirected to the individual community station. Routine complaints, inquiries, requests for information and crime prevention assistance will be handled by the volunteers on duty. Drop-in visits will be encouraged and home crime prevention visits will be coordinated by the station personnel.

It is expected that each station constable will spend as little time as necessary at the station. Rather, he/she will be actively involved in the community by giving lectures; attending group meetings or making home and business visits to assist with crime prevention needs. They will also be expected to carry out reactive police duties when called upon to do so by headquarters or the circumstances at the time.

- The decentralization of a number of the existing community services programs will take place with the opening of each station. These will include the School Liaison program, Block Parent program, and the newly implemented Neighbourhood Watch program. Each of these logically fits within the community station purview where they can be developed to mesh with the neighbourhood being served. It is also recommended that the Victim Services program be decentralized to some extent with volunteers placed in each station. However, due to the inter-municipality focus of this program, a central, coordination office should be maintained at

police headquarters to oversee all operations and maintain the record keeping system. The Business Liaison programs, Crime-Stoppers and Youth programs should continue to operate city-wide and therefore be based out of headquarters. Specific neighbourhood requests for service could come forward from the community stations but it is not felt that sufficient rationale exists for decentralizing these services at this point in time.

The centralization of these latter programs reinforce the need to maintain an overall community services section, but the displacement of others warrants a review of the overall mandate for this group. It is recommended that a new unit emerge from the old, to be called the Crime Prevention Development and Evaluation Unit. This unit will have three distinct objectives: first, to maintain those crime prevention strategies with a city-wide or inter-municipal focus (e.g. Business Liaison, Crime-Stoppers, etc.); second, to evaluate the impact of various crime prevention and community service programs both across the city and within specific neighbourhoods, and to make recommendations for change whenever deemed necessary; and third, to respond to crime prevention problems within the city by developing new strategies for action to be considered by the Police Board.

It would not be the responsibility of this new unit to supervise the operation of the community stations. An alternative administrative structure is proposed later on in this report. However, given the evaluating function of this new unit, separating it from the operational end of the community stations will ensure an element of neutrality when it comes to routine assessment. The new unit will be expected to provide developmental help when it comes to new programming within a specific neighbourhood. However, this will be in a supportive role only with leadership coming from the community station and its Advisory Board.

Community Advisory Board (CAB): The success of this type of program depends on the involvement of the citizenry. The more traditional police-community programs have sought to engage the community by using their eyes and ears, with the police continuing to retain all responsibility for making decisions (Goldstein, 1987). This model restricts the input of citizens thereby reducing the feeling of commitment plus increasing the risk that such programs will eventually fail. Community involvement under this model becomes a form of tokenism at the best of times.

The Community Police Station model proposed here demands that involvement become more than just the police telling the citizen what to do. Rather, it must involve both a commitment to listening to the community as well as giving citizens a greater direct involvement in determining how they are policed (Goldstein, 1987). This level of involvement not only opens the door to greater cooperation between both groups but also stresses the accountability of the police to the communities they serve.

Goldstein (1987), in his comprehensive article on community-oriented policing, stresses that many decisions have to be made when a community chooses to become involved in crime prevention. Such decisions arise from questions such as: who is to decide what problems require police attention in a neighbourhood or, if a wide range of alternatives are to be used in responding to problems, who should decide from among them or, what should be the relationship between community-oriented and local politicians?

Each of these is a legitimate question when seeking a police--community relationship. Who provides the answers is debatable. To help, each neighbourhood should establish, with the police, a Community Advisory Board comprised of neighbourhood citizens, businessmen, representatives of the station volunteers and the community station constable. This group will become the formal link between the police and the community they serve. It will serve in both an advisory and decision-making capacity, with responsibilities that include: 1) serving as a community barometer to reflect the crime concerns as they arise; 2) assisting the community station staff in marketing their various programs by opening the doors to neighbourhood cooperation; 3) assisting the Crime Prevention Development and Evaluation section in assessing the efficacy of the community station programs; 4) identifying neighbourhood preventative and reactive policing needs; 5) developing rationale and strategies for securing additional budget requirements; and, 6) developing policy for the operation of the community station.

Each of these stressed the cooperative nature of the relationship while not sacrificing the community awareness of what it needs nor the police expertise at providing law enforcement. Through consultation and collaboration, each side will use the energy and creativity of the other to work towards the common goal of crime prevention.

Administrative Structure of Community Police Stations

Administratively, the decision of where to place the community stations within the department organization structure is a most sensitive one. An initial, cursory look at that structure might suggest that they should logically be placed under the existing community services section, particularly since that group is playing the major role of development so far. Even more supportive of that idea is the existing direct link between Community Services and the Chief's office, a relationship that has always assured administrative support for Victoria's crime prevention programs. If anything, such a placement would ensure the community stations receive the full attention of the administration, should problems arise.

However, both the literature and feedback from interviews caution us to think twice about just such a placement. Everything seems to point at the tendency for such an arrangement to further split the pro-active elements of policing away from the tradi-

tional and entrenched reactive system. Separate philosophies are simply not workable in the long run. Furthermore, the stronger reactive system is in a far superior position to shut down cooperation resulting in a frustration and eventual disinterest from those officers struggling to preserve the crime prevention philosophy.

The best suggestion at this point would be to place the community station system under the operations division, creating a new section within that group supervised by an N.C.O. That individual would report directly to the Superintendent of Operations and thereby to the Chief. This strategy will ensure the greatest chance of cooperation by direct contact with the patrol, traffic and detective sections. At the same time, it will allow each community station to develop a good relationship with those 'street' officers working in the neighbourhood, since the stations can no longer be accused of being placed in what the rank and file call 'fantasy island'.

The new Crime Prevention Development and Evaluation section, discussed earlier, will serve in a supportive capacity to the Community station group, advising on new programs and assisting in the development of evaluative measures. Each station constable will report directly to their supervising N.C.O. who will ensure that the necessary departmental resources are made available as required.

Placing the group within Operations will provide the community station with maximum visibility, and at the same time, ensure that the opportunity for good reactive/pro-active cooperation exists. Just because one institutes a community station does not mean that traditional police work will disappear. On the contrary, the increased neighbourhood visibility of the police will demand a greater expectation for competent, effective police service. That necessitates the community station staff and the patrol staff be able to work together, respecting each other's role in the overall goal of crime control and prevention.

The 'fantasy island' stigma appears so entrenched at this point that nothing less than putting the stations into the 'reactive' den seems appropriate. Success demands cooperation and with the right person in charge there is no reason to believe that this decision would not work. Overcoming the current resistance suggests that the middle-management level (i.e., N.C.O.) is a logical place to start. From there, the new values and processes can be spread to others who, in turn, can generate interest and cooperation from those in the lower ranks.

Evaluation

Today, starting any new program without a built-in evaluation process is tantamount to committing suicide. It is only through dynamic research that one is able to isolate those factors which enhance or impede a program's success. At the same time,

continued funding is often dependent on a program's ability to demonstrate its value to society. The Community Police Stations are a new initiative for Victoria. There is not a solid foundation of experience, locally or nationally, to justify a premature toast to success. Nevertheless, the situation warrants a maximum effort and the prospects at this point are positive for the stations to achieve their anticipated objectives. The only way to measure the results will be with a solid evaluation component built into the program. An evaluation process allows for the assessment of identifiable problems with their concomitant solutions; provides hard-core data to back up budget requests; isolates training competencies that need development; and results in publications describing the process, including the success and failures. Because of the importance attached to evaluation it was suggested earlier that a new section be set up for that purpose.

That new section will take time to develop. As a result, the department should acquire a team of independent evaluators whose task it will be to: develop a system of on-going evaluation that will be built into the entire community station process; assist the police department in developing its own skills to continue that evaluation and develop their own programs of assessment; and, teach the department how to use the generated data to effectively bring about change as well as to support those programs that are meeting their objectives.

The police department is in a most advantageous position at present given that the stations have yet to become operational. Evaluation strategies need to be discussed now as development proceeds, to ensure that they are functioning from the commencement of operation. Not only will the evaluation provide a guideline for the better allocation of resources but will indicate which services are best meeting objectives of the program (Trojanowicz et al., 1975).

How precisely the program has affected the police and the community can only truly be observed through a well-structured and efficient evaluation process. The final section of this paper speculates about what those effects might be.

Forecasting the Future

This portion of the paper could be seen as a forecaster's nightmare, simply because there are no hard data yet. Nevertheless, one can still attempt to project results and anticipate problems ahead of time. This exercise in itself can prove useful to the planning process as well as providing a basis for comparison once those data become available.

We have chosen to identify those factors that could have both short and long-range effects on the program and the city it serves, and to refer to literature and interviews to help with this speculation. The impact of the program is considered from three separate directions: the community, the police department,

and the community services section. All three areas are viewed as integral components in the program with each affecting the other in a variety of ways which need to be measured and analysed. It is recognized that there exists a need for evaluative research in this area. However, there are some concerns regarding program evaluations worth mentioning, as many are characterized by weak designs, an under-use of statistical significance tests, the absence of a valid and reliable measurement of program implementation and outcomes, and a consistent failure to address competing explanations for observed effects (Rosenbaum, 1987).

The Community: An adequate program of crime prevention requires the positive efforts of a concerned citizenry at the community level (Trojanowicz et al., 1975). Those positive efforts require that the community feel they are playing a role in their own crime-free destiny. Rosenbaum (1987) reports that research has shown that fear of crime is lower in neighbourhoods where the residents have more involvement and control over what happens in their area. Unless a program is capable of stimulating those feelings and subsequent effort, it runs the risk of failure and the resultant loss of public confidence in the system to protect and maintain their social freedoms.

Part of the stimulation process, besides citizen involvement in the planning, will be the success with which the development team is able to market the program in the neighbourhood. Selection an appropriate location for the station is a key task. It needs to be centralized in such fashion that people come to know of its existence by contact as they go about their daily tasks. Location near other social service agencies will increase awareness both from daily traffic patterns and by referrals between agencies. However, a word of caution that the station not become seen as serving all needs. This trap is so easy to fall into for a new program, particularly as it attempts to gain public support and recognition. Agency territorially is a precious commodity and the police could find themselves alienating those other services by becoming involved in requests outside their jurisdiction.

A system of categorizing contacts needs to be developed and data analyzed on a monthly basis. This will assist in identifying variables which cause people to make contact. The non-police, non-crime prevention contacts should be identified and systems of referral developed or improved to redirect such requests to the appropriate agency. Police-crime prevention contacts can then be categorized according to the type of follow-up used. These data can then be utilized to either reinforce existing procedures or to develop new approaches for handling the various calls for service.

The more effective, pragmatic and realistic the service provided, the greater the potential for community support through word of mouth recommendations and referrals. In addition, one will see a more comprehensive referral relationship develop among the various agencies concerned with citizen needs.

Part of the marketing process must involve getting across the point that these stations are pro-active in nature rather than reactive. They are not meant to replace the law enforcement duties coordinated from headquarters. Unless that is stressed right from the start, the police run the risk of citizen complaints about the lack of reactive services from community station staff. This can be prevented through cooperation between the patrol section and the stations. The proper division of responsibilities needs to be spelled out and any overlap carefully structured to ensure individual duties are identified.

The demand and involvement by community volunteers will be a strong indicator of the level of acceptance and confidence the community places in the community station model. However, controlling for ulterior motives must be considered, particularly when it comes to citizens who view the station as a way to play 'cop'. The interest of such individuals can be controlled by ensuring that a pro-active, crime prevention orientation underlies the operation of each station. At the same time, the police department itself must be careful not to allow volunteer duties to take on an air of being law enforcement-based. This could create a misguided perception of the role and authority of the volunteer position.

If the program is working, one should see an immediate increase in the reported crime rate, simply because people are being encouraged to become more responsible for reporting situations they observe. Over time, however, that rate should drop if the programs are succeeding. As crime prevention programs take hold, each neighbourhood will become less open to victimization through the citizens' efforts to decrease the risk of criminal behavior. Both the initial increase and the subsequent decrease will be significant measures of how effective the programs are and how much the community accepts a personal role in crime prevention.

Further evidence of program impact could be seen in a gradual increase in new varieties of criminal behavior. Research, cited earlier, pointed out that criminals often simply change their type of activity when one form becomes less successful than another (Gabor, 1981). Although this is generally positive, it also points out that the programs have failed to root out the core cause of the criminality and more analysis is necessary to get at those conditions that inspire the desire to commit crime in the first place, conditions that may even be beyond the power of the police or the community stations to control.

A final concern is with the level of fear and concern for safety experienced by the community. Each of the five community meetings attested to the increased fear level felt by people regarding their own safety and security. If the program is effective, that fear level should dissipate. The opportunity to test this hypothesis required the assessment of fear levels, prior to and after the implementation of the stations. Variations on

geographical differences could be assessed by looking for differences in fear level for those who live one block away from the station to those who live twenty or thirty blocks away.

The variety and type of measures one can gather are truly limitless if you really think about it. The key is having a method for collecting data implemented as soon as the programs start and analyzing these regularly to identify trends as well as potential problems; problems that may be rectified before they get too far out of control.

The Police Department: The impact of the community stations on the police department will be felt in a number of ways. A proper evaluation of that impact must be made to ensure that overall department and program objectives are being met.

An indication of how well the community stations are dealing with policing needs can be measured in several ways. They include: a reduction in patrol response time to calls, the elimination of the current call-prioritization process; an increased crime-investigation time per constable; a reduction in non-criminal calls for service received by headquarters; the number of referrals for assistance by operations staff to community station staff; and the offers of assistance by operations staff to various programs based in the community station.

This workload assessment will indicate those aspects of the program that are living up to expectations and those that are not. At the same time, the data will isolate problems quickly and prompt the development of new strategies for dealing with those concerns.

The image of community stations within the department must also be assessed at all levels to ensure department acceptance and cooperation. If the current skepticism surrounding these stations is to be reversed, then the kinds of departmental changes recommended in this report should be considered seriously. Once the initial incubation period of getting operational has passed, the various levels of staff should be re-surveyed to assess their attitudes about the program. Part of getting a successful positive response will depend on how effective the police administration has been at demystifying the pro-active policing focus, and at gathering the active support and cooperation of the entire force to make these stations work. It is hoped that eventually one will see a department in which both roles, reactive and pro-active, extend to every service offered. Failure to do this will only result in a splitting of staff and the subsequent struggle for survival by the stations' staff. One can measure support not only by asking the staff their attitudes towards the stations but by measuring their involvement. Identifying numbers and types of referrals made by operational officers will provide one set of data. In addition, measurement of the response time by operational staff to a station request for assistance could indicate the priority they give to the community station role. Each of

these measures could readily provide clues to problems that develop and ways for overcoming them.

An extensive in-service orientation strategy must be developed to familiarize the entire department with the community station concept. At the same time, involvement by representatives of all departments and levels of staff in the planning process is imperative to the development of a program that not only works within the community but within the police department as well. The program must not be seen as it needs to be viewed as a logical extension of all existing services bent on improving police-community cooperation with a resultant reduction in crime and citizen fear.

Community Services Section: It has been recommended that the Community Services section be given a new focus from that which currently exists. The objectives of this move are threefold. First, it will enable the community stations to become identified with the operations aspect of the department. The need is great for these stations to be supported by the rest of the department and to be seen by the community as logical extensions of the entire policing process. By keeping the stations in the existing community services section, the department runs the risk of being viewed as part of the 'fantasy island' myth that seems prevalent among the rank and file. Second, it will allow community services to focus on city-wide programs that do not seem appropriate for decentralization to the community station level. This will allow the section to work on developing new strategies of crime prevention that become necessary as the city grows and diversifies its life-styles.

Third, it will enable the section to develop an evaluation capacity that can be utilized to assess the various crime prevention programs at work throughout the city and at the neighbourhood level. Evaluation, to this point in time, has been a limited activity within the department as a whole. However, the strategic planning committee activities and the development of the community station program intensifies the need to become very active in that process. It will also ensure a much needed neutrality when it comes to assessment, particularly since the section will not be directly involved in the supervision of the individual stations. Too often evaluation becomes clouded by a group's vested interest in seeing to the success of a program that they operate. Proper and effective evaluation demands a willingness to identify the good with the bad and to make recommendations for change that are logical and practical.

The impact at this point is extremely hard to assess. There is no doubt that things will continue should no change occur. The commitment of the Chief to the pro-active philosophy will guarantee that much. Likewise, the recognition of the continued success of existing crime prevention programs will support the maintenance of the status quo. However, the opportunity for future development, exemplified by the decision to pursue a community

station program, warrants a reasonable re-evaluation of the direction and delivery of community crime prevention strategies, a process that may very well lead to a strengthening of the kind of service the department can offer and the city deserves.

Summary

The Victoria City Police Department has set for itself an exciting venture into the realm of community policing, a venture that reflects not only the Chief's strong belief in that focus but also the need to get a handle on what is becoming a serious crime problem within the city. There is no doubt that the circumstances of the last five to six years have predicated the need to develop alternative strategies for dealing with those crime rates, strategies that in the long run do not demand excessive budget allocations, but that recognize the need to put a stop to climbing crime rates which incorporate a process of crime prevention that will ultimately put crime control into the hands of both the police and the community, and, finally, strategies which can serve as a model for consideration by other police departments.

This paper has explored the process leading to the implementation of the community police station. It has identified those circumstances which first alerted the Victoria police community to the problems, which if left unchecked could get out of control, resulting in a spiral of community dissatisfaction and declining police morale. To that end, we have mentioned the increasing crime rates, citizen complaints, staff reduction and political criticisms that have had animpact on the department within a very short span of time.

Secondly, the study identifies how the department came to the decision to develop the community police station strategy and the events or philosophies which made this approach more suitable than other possible options. It discusses the impact of what one could call the new era of police service, beginning in the fall of 1985 with the election of a new pro-active mayor, intent on getting at the roots of the problem and coming up with new programs to meet the need.

Based on the above, we hypothesized about how the stations would operate and what impacts might be expected. To that end, the study describes in some detail an ideal community station operation. This model can serve two purposes. First, it provides a base-line for comparison once the stations actually come on-line. Second, it can serve as a source of ideas that the police department can use as a stimulus for the development of their own model which they feel best fits both community and departmental objectivee.

The impact section, like the program design, simply identifies what the department should look for when it comes to assessing the effects of their model. Until that model is operational one can only speculate on the impact it will have. We have iden-

tified some of the variables that need to be analyzed to give the department a clear view of how effective and valid their model is. We have stressed the need for a built-in evaluation program cognizant of the limitations similar research has encountered in other jurisdictions. Nevertheless it should be stressed that the expected impact will be broadly felt both within the police department and the community it services.

PART II

IMPLEMENTING CHANGE

The ten months since the publication of the Phase One report has seen a myriad of activity, development and analysis that will comprise the majority of information reported in this volume. All of these tasks, plus their findings, have resulted in a clear and comprehensive discussion of the two remaining objectives. These are: (a) a description of the Community Police Station operation as it has been developed by the Victoria City Police Department, and (b) an identification of the short-range impacts of this new service on both the police department and the community it serves.

The reader will now see how one police department has taken an expressed need for change from the identification stage on through to the implementation and initial evaluation stages. That process in itself can be educational for any department considering a similar strategy or simply considering a variety of ways to combat increasing crime rates and the concomitant public unrest.

It should be stressed here that this study looks at a developmental process that from the first has forged ahead at a remarkably fast pace. Any preconceived notions that this would be an orderly and systematic process were quickly dismissed once the work began. At the time of writing a total of five stations have been opened with plans to initiate the sixth in the fall of 1988. An impressive beginning given that only eight months have passed since the James Bay Station, the first, became a reality.

Such rapidity has created a number of concerns around certain aspects of the developmental process to this point in time. These will be highlighted in later sections of this report and plausible, alternative solutions will be suggested at that time.

Methodology

Phase One of the study thoroughly explored the literature relating to community policing and the variety of formats available under that rubric. This background provided the foundation on which to begin designating the assessment tools required to carry out a structured evaluation of the initial impact of the stations on both the department and the community.

Initially it was anticipated that the research team would simply replicate an existing, pre-tested design. But, as these were reviewed, it became apparent that the unique character of the Victoria program and its community would require the development of original instruments. Nevertheless, a number of items were ultimately modified for inclusion in our own instruments.

Much of the development work leading up to the opening of the first station in James Bay had already been done by the time this

study was scheduled to begin. A major Needs Analysis had been carried out by a private consultant hired by the Ministry of the Solicitor-General (Ram Analysis, 1987). That analysis thoroughly described a development-evaluation plan that would carry the Community Police Stations from implementation to evaluation over a three year time-frame. That study was reviewed and we were invited to attend several meetings scheduled as part of that process. All minutes of the planning team were reviewed and once Phase Two began we were invited to sit as participant observers on the departmental Steering Committee. These meetings were and continue to be scheduled on a monthly basis and have become an integral part of the overall management of the Community Police Station (Co.P.S.) program.

In early September, 1987, structured interviews were held with all personnel attached to the Community Services section as well as with senior operations personnel within the department. The first two Community Station constables, selected to operate stations in the James Bay and Blanshard neighbourhoods, were interviewed in detail by the research team. By years end, two more constables had been selected and were subsequently interviewed using the same structured schedule. During December, 1987, and January, 1988, a sample of administration officers, rank and file members and volunteers were interviewed using an open-ended questionnaire specifically developed to assess their responses to the programs already in operation. All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed for later evaluation.

Three separate instruments were designed to assess the impact of the Community Station on both the community and the department. The first involved a categorial analysis of the responses given by department personnel on those interviews described earlier. A brief, summary analysis sheet was designed and responses were assigned to categories for analysis.

The second required an item by item categorization and evaluation of all entries into the daily log-books kept by the volunteers working at the James Bay station. This covered a three-month period, from October 5, 1987, to January 5, 1988.

Finally, a telephone survey was undertaken, during February 1988, of a random sample of 350 residents in the James Bay neighbourhood. Given that James Bay had been operational the longest, the decision was made to limit our survey to that one area in the belief that its length of operation would have had the widest impact on the residents in the neighbourhood. An initial pilot study of fifty residents was conducted to evaluate our instruments' efficacy. Volunteers from the James Bay station carried out the actual survey itself, after being instructed in the administration of the instrument. The results werethen summarized and analyzed. The findings of these three procedures provide an interesting picture of how the stations are being received at this time.

Operationalizing the Community Police Stations

Describing Victoria's Community Police Station program has become a formidable task at the best of times because of the sheer level of activity that has ensued once the official go-ahead was given in June, 1987. Selecting, from all that activity, precisely what to include in an operational description such as this has been difficult to say the least. Many ideas have surfaced and disappeared just as quickly. Some concepts have been implemented but modified over time to the point that they no longer resemble their original form. Still others have withstood the test of time and are now viewed as mainstays to the overall, operational program.

Similarly, each station has developed its own unique character, reflective of the community it serves and the staff guiding that operation. Those differences have been anticipated and are actively promoted by the Department, recognizing that for each station to truly become a part of the community it serves, it must attend to the individual crime prevention needs within that neighbourhood. At the same time the police administration has worked hard to ensure that each station reflects a standard model of service common across all neighbourhoods; delivering a pro-active service, identical in philosophy and principle, through a variety of formats that support the individual neighbourhood differences.

Under these conditions it has been decided to describe the basic community station program upon which each station has been modelled. At the same time, the individual station differences in program and service delivery will be described, to illustrate how a program like Victoria's, while still maintaining a common core, can control for demographic and crime variations across the city. This fluidity of program delivery has surfaced as a principle asset in the overall program design and a fact which deserves recognition at this early stage.

Decision Making Process: The actual development and implementation of the community stations has been primarily the responsibility of the Community Services Section within the department. Under the leadership of Sgt. Stevenson, it was decided to re-align the operational structure of the section to reflect the community station program. This included the restructuring of the delivery of existing proactive programs, such as Block Watch, Block Parents, School Liaison, etc.

It was decided to divide the majority of existing preventive programs among the five community station officers who would report to an N.C.O. supervisor (corporal rank) directly below Sgt. Stevenson. The business liaison program was kept separate and placed in the hands of a Constable responsible for supervising this area throughout the city. The section reports directly to the Chief Constable who is assisted by a steering committee, comprised of officers and N.C.O.'s representative of the other major sections within the department.

This group has continued to guide the program's development and has reached the point where they are planning well beyond the initial target of five stations. A long range goal is to develop a proactive program that will see more and more manpower and capital resources directed into those initiatives that encourage a police-community relationship aimed at reducing crime and the fear of crime throughout the city.

Citizen involvement in planning has been limited in the actual development of each station. However, once operational, each station has generated considerable citizen input not only through its core of volunteers but also through various neighbourhood groups who have turned to the station for assistance with local problems.

The approach, although rather one-sided at first, would appear to be effective, allowing the police the freedom to establish a station reflective of the overall goals of the Community Station program and then encouraging the citizenry to increase input and participation in the development of programs over the long term. The type and level of involvement will be more fully discussed later.

Site Selection: Before setting out to determine where to place each station a number of criteria for site selection were established by the department. These included such important variables as: visibility, accessibility to the public; proximity to other community agencies; annual overhead costs; sufficient floor-space; renovation costs and financial incentives offered by a landlord. Theoretically the department hoped to fulfill each requirement but reality quickly showed them that trade-offs were sometimes necessary. Some variables were downplayed in exchange for others that seemed far more important to the area being served or for the program as a whole. For example, the first station, James Bay, faces a street that has far less public visibility than the department would like and yet its rental costs, floor-plan, proximity to other social services and regulated rent increases make it an ideal location over the long term. Similarly, station number two in Blanshard was placed in a low-rental town-house complex somewhat off the main thoroughfares and definitely away from the central housing core of the neighbourhood; but the fact that the site was offered rent-free and came with thousands of dollars of free renovations from the B.C. Housing Authority made the offer too good to turn down. This in turn saved the department considerable money that could be used at future sites where such generosity was not forthcoming. An example is the Fairfield station where obtaining a suitable location demanded that the department pay considerably more per square foot in rent than originally anticipated.

Finding a site was not always easy nor could the department be guaranteed that rental facilities were always available. Although the department never anticipated purchasing a facility, they soon found themselves faced with that prospect with the move

into Victoria West. Being primarily a bedroom community, Victoria West lacks the available commercial space present in the other neighbourhoods. The department was first offered a small space in the local community YM-YWCA but the small size, locale and building operation restrictions made that site less than suitable. The annex of the only school in the area was vacant but, when the school was approached by the department the P.T.A. opposed the proposal. They expressed concern with the image such an operation might conjure up in the eyes of the public who might wonder why a police office was located on the school grounds. Eventually the best site became a small bungalow, up for sale and fronting on the main thoroughfare of the neighbourhood. The police approached city hall to argue the case for their purchasing the property. Convinced that this was the best route to follow, city officials authorized the purchase plus a small surplus of funds to cover initial renovation costs. Part of the argument that convinced city hall was the large lot that came with the home which will be turned into a training compound for the police canine unit as well as a storage center for the motorcycles used by the Wheels program. This multi-purpose use of the property represented sound planning and management use of resources and therefore justified such extraordinary expenditure.

It should be stressed here that site selection is never as easy as anticipated, despite the best laid plans to control for every contingency. Flexibility is the key to success. The willingness to make trade-offs recognizes that any location is only as good as the programs emanating from it and that one can compensate for deficiencies through creativity in program planning and implementation.

Floor Design: The initial floor design for each station had to include sufficient space for a variety of functions: a general reception-inquiry area large enough to accommodate visitors or clients as well as working stations for those volunteers on duty; a private office for each station constable; washroom facilities; storage areas; kitchen facilities; and a meeting room large enough to accommodate small groups with a sufficient electrical supply to operate audio-visual equipment permanently placed in each station.

Each station readily meets these requirements and where additional space is available, a variety of options have been proposed and implemented. The leasing of space to outside agencies is one idea that has helped pay the bills in Victoria West. There, a one-year arrangement has resulted in the renting of office space to a government funded spousal assault worker. Such an agreement has not only proven to be economically fortuitous but has allowed the police ready access to a valuable resource.

The community stations are also being promoted as extensions of the main station as well as the neighbourhood by encouraging police and neighbourhood groups to hold meetings on site. This has proven to be an invaluable and informal method of encouraging both internal and external groups to view the station and thereby

become aware of the services being offered throughout the neighbourhood.

Furnishings: The key issue to furnishing each space has been cost. The department had not allotted any funds to the program for this type of capital expenditure. This meant that funds or furnishings had to come from outside resources. Fortunately Sgt. Stevenson had anticipated this problem and negotiated with the Attorney-General's ministry for the indefinite loan of used furniture being stored in the central government warehouses. Those items not available were either donated by local businesses or purchased with funds generated from two bingo licences held by the Community Services section. Audio-visual equipment, permanently based in each station, was purchased with those funds. Office supplies are provided from the overall department allotment.

Plans are in the works to have each station equipped with a computer that will ultimately be linked with a central computer for the Co.P.S. program as well as the mainframe located at headquarters.

Signs, Public Access and Security: Visibility is an essential part of making the public aware of the existence of the service. Each station has a large sign identifying it as a Community Police Station. In some cases these are electrical and have been donated by a local firm. In others they have been constructed by the City Works department.

Public access to each station has been enhanced by well lit and large reception areas. Volunteer work-stations are part of this area so that every visitor is greeted by someone and their reason for being there is quickly attended to. A telephone system has been set up in each station with direct outside lines as well as a local connected into the main switchboard at Police headquarters. Each station also has a radio tuned to the police frequency enabling staff to monitor police activity throughout the city.

Each station has an alarm system monitored by the local security firm that donated and installed them. This demonstrates the support forthcoming from the local businessmen and enhances the cooperation felt so strongly by this department in its dealings with the business community.

Hours of Operation: Initial plans were for each station to work towards a seven days per week, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., operation. That goal was to be achieved in stages starting with a Monday to Friday, 9-5 schedule and moving forward in increments until the final objective was attained. Much of this is dependent on the availability of volunteer staff and the apparent need for services identified from public demand.

At this point in time each station is experimenting with a variety of options based on their own perceived needs. For exam-

ple, the James Bay station moved to a 9-9 operation shortly into the new year and added a four hour Saturday shift as well. Initial assessment has shown that the evening hours, 5-9 p.m., have not been used as much as hoped. However one can anticipate that this will change as the public becomes more aware of the extended hours. Seasonal variations may also be possible with greater use when people are out and about enjoying spring and summer weather. As programs develop to include early evening activities it is expected that the demand on each station for evening access will increase and the public will ultimately come to expect these extended hours of operation to be standard.

The twelve hour day has proven fortuitous in staffing each station with volunteers. It has allowed three separate shifts of four hours duration each day. This has meshed quite nicely with the average commitment each volunteer is prepared to make on any single day. It has also enabled each station to attract a variety of volunteers including those who have regular employment commitments. James Bay station has established a monthly duty roster which is coordinated by one of the volunteers. That individual is responsible for seeing that each shift is manned by two volunteers who are assigned to work in the station. Other volunteers, involved with specific proactive programs, come and go a they wish but are not expected to participate in those normal station operations covered by the regular, shift personnel.

Staff Selection

Community Station Constable: In order to ensure full department participation in the new program the Chief decided to have an open competition for each Co.P.S. constable position. His initial decision was challenged by the union, based on their concerns that the job expectations would be greater than allowed under the current collective agreement. Chief Snowdon moved quickly to resolve that concern and union officials allowed the competition to go forward, cautioning that they would be closely monitoring the work load as it developed.

A detailed job description was circulated to all staff, and interested parties were invited to submit their application. That prospectus spelled out both the historical development of the program as well as the expected objectives to be achieved by the program. Duties were linked to specific objectives allowing each applicant to consider his or her own capabilities in that area. Emphasis was placed on a constable's ability to develop new programs; work independently from set procedure; deal with the public in a respectful and competent fashion; select and supervise volunteer staff; competently instruct non-police personnel in law-enforcement related topics; and manage time efficiently.

A selection team was established, comprised of the Chief Constable, superintendent of operations and the N.C.O. in charge of Community Services. Two officers were selected for the two stations opened in 1987 and two to fill positions in stations

three and four which opened in February and March, 1988. In each case, the officers were relieved of their regular duties to allow them to be part of the development team setting up their station, and later to have on the job training in an existing community station. Unfortunately, lead time was limited and new constables did not always have development time appropriate to the job expected of them.

A program of this nature, because of its uniqueness, requires sufficient preparation to work out 'start-up' problems that can so often determine future success or failure. Ideally, each new station should learn from the mistakes and successes of its predecessors. However, in Victoria progress has been so rapid that problems, which could have been avoided, have arised in new stations simply because of insufficient time. Although these have not been insurmountable, they have certainly added unnecessary complications to the smooth implementation of each station.

Overall, staff selection has been a remarkably enjoyable task according to the administration. Initial interest in the position was beyond expectations and it now appears that future competitions will certainly garner strong interest as the rank and file become more and more aware of the developmental opportunities, both individual and career, offered by such a position.

Volunteers: Selection of volunteers has been left up to each Station Constable. The department made good use of pre-opening media publicity to tell each community about the need for volunteers. As well, information passed by word of mouth through local community organizations. The Criminal Justice program at Camosun College also encouraged student involvement.

Each prospective volunteer goes through three stages before their final acceptance into the program. A special application form is completed by each individual. Background security checks are conducted on volunteers because of possible access to confidential information in the position. Finally, each applicant is interviewed, in part to allow the Station Constable to assess the individual's suitability for the position.

Generally speaking, each volunteer should demonstrate a capacity to work independently and yet follow instructions; to communicate with the public in a warm yet competent manner; to write in a coherent manner and to report information accurately with minimal interpretation. They should also show a strong commitment to the role played by both the community and the police in crime prevention and control. In addition, when possible volunteers should live in the community being served and be representative of its racial and age composition.

Volunteers selected, not only staff each shift but also may be asked to work on various crime prevention programs planned for each station that command more time than just the 4-hour shift of office duty. To that extent, each constable must become acutely

aware of the applicant's commitment both in time and interest when considering a candidate's suitability. Victoria is fortunate in that it has a long history of volunteer activity across all aspects of daily living. That experience has made the job of attracting interested citizens relatively easy. It has also allowed each constable to be fairly selective in his or her final choices thereby ensuring a steady complement of citizens suitable to participate in the various station activities.

Volunteers have come from a wide cross-section of the citizens in each neighbourhood. They have included retirees, university and college students, unemployed adults and those holding down continuous employment. The 12-hour working day of the community stations has allowed each volunteer a schedule that best fits with their other commitments at home, at work or within the community. Each station has one individual designated as a volunteer co-ordinator who oversees the overall involvement of all citizens. In most cases, this coordinator will work a four-hour shift during each day which provides continuity in leadership and office management. Part of that task involves designating other volunteers as leaders for specific projects or office management tasks. This has enabled the station constable to liaise on program or management issues in a directed and objective fashion.

Training Programs

Training is viewed as a vital component to all personnel involved in the Co.P.S. program. To this point in time the energy has been directed toward developing a training package for the volunteers. Assistance was sought from the staff of the B.C. Justice Institute in Vancouver which includes, among other things, the provincial Police Academy. They developed a package of training materials covering eight different areas requiring a total of twelve hours of classroom instruction. The material covers a broad spectrum of subject areas pertinent to the role of volunteers including an overview of the Justice System, Victoria police department operational procedures, effective methods for dealing with the public, and report writing.

These topics are meant to give the volunteer a broad orientation to the kinds of issues and tasks they will encounter while working at the community station. Most of the materials have been designed so that the station constable can easily deliver the contents. Whenever outside resources are required, or preferred, the constable will approach those individuals directly. Unfortunately, the program has not made extensive use of the department's personnel and training officer. It would have seemed practical to have included such a resource individual in the selection and training process but that was not done. This has meant that the bulk of staff development has fallen to the Community Services station, a questionable assignment.

The training of station constables has been far less structured for two reasons. The first is the lack of available train-

ing courses with a strong focus on community policing strategies. This has forced the department to select courses that stress certain aspects of the community policing role, such as: public speaking,; crime prevention strategies; and, public organization. Each of these areas could easily be combined with others to create a more directed focus. Given the burgeoning interest by departments in this area, it is strongly recommended that the B.C. Justice Institute set about designing some such offering. Sufficient expertise exists provincially to develop and deliver such a program.

The second is the reality of the time available and cost for each new officer to undertake different training programs. Part of each constable's initiation to the job has been a period of work experience in an existing community station. That has been tied to their own efforts in setting up the station which they will operate. This approach can best be described as a "baptism by fire" method which has forced each constable to become competent, quickly. They have certainly learned from their mistakes and among themselves they have found their own best resources.

Recognizing their struggles, the department has appointed an N.C.O. supervisor to coordinate the operation of all five stations. He has organized regular monthly meetings with the five station constables, where daily problems are discussed and necessary action recommended. In one sense, this has become a form of in-service education that is proving invaluable in the development of the program.

It is strongly recommended that the training officer become involved at this time to develop an orientation program that can be offered to all future officers selected to work within the Co.P.S. program. With the department's philosophy of rotating officers through a variety of services it would make sense that an in-service training program be established to enable potential community station constables to prepare themselves for that role. Such an in-service package should include such topics as time management, staff selection procedures, program development strategies, office management skills, public relations, instructional skills, communications, and effective writing. Each of these topics covers essential components of the daily management of a community station, in direct contrast to the technical, reactive skills learned in basic training.

Program Development

Development of the Co.P.S. program has been a crucial task for the department. The entire Co.P.S. initiative met with strong internal skepticism as to its viability. There was also resentment from some who felt that the new efforts would only further deplete operational resources that most believed were already taxed to the limit. The Chief anticipated that the new stations would have a struggle to prove themselves as an effective support for existing reactive programs as well as a competent strategy for

reducing the crime rates. The community station had to be seen as much more than proactive 'window-dressing'. Instead, it was developed as an integral part of the overall delivery of police services readily accessible to the community and department staff.

To that end, all programs had to be designed to reflect a balance between reactive and proactive policing strategies. At the same time, they had to include a strong citizen involvement given the emphasis on the role of volunteers within each station. It was also felt that reactive police work did not have to rest solely with the constable and that some activities could be handled quite easily by the station volunteers.

Initially it was decided to decentralize the delivery of a number of the existing crime prevention programs from the Community Services Section to each of the new stations. This gives each station a foundation of established crime prevention programs that have proven successful over the long term. They include: Block Parents; Block Watch; School Liaison; and, Operation Identification. Decentralization has allowed each community officer to implement the programs in a manner that best suits their particular neighbourhood. Volunteers have been assigned to co-ordinate each program thereby reducing the constraints on the constables' time. Overall supervision of these programs still rests with Community Services but that is maintained simply to ensure that the programs retain their city-wide focus. Variations in operationalizing each program are evident however, given the needs of each neighbourhood. The use of volunteers seems to have strengthened the implementation strategies and, in some neighbourhoods, accelerated program implementation. The department is most pleased with this development and views the results as indicative of how the community can become involved in crime prevention without an excessive strain on police resources for stimulus and leadership.

In addition to these traditional prevention programs, each station has begun to develop unique strategies that reflect the needs of their particular neighbourhood. James Bay, a community with a large percentage of the population age 65 or older, is a good example of this. Working closely with local social service agencies, physicians and the New Horizons program, the Community Station staff have set about developing a series of strategies to help senior citizens cope with the isolation of old age and the fear of crime that often accompanies that life style. A program called 'Seniors Phoning Seniors' has set up a system of regular phone calls to senior citizens who live alone to inquire as to their well being. This program has shown recipients that people do care and that the police department does concern itself with citizen safety outside of simply responding to calls for service.

The department is also working closely with the New Horizons program to determine precisely what measures can be taken to reduce the seniors' fear of crime. A grant from Ottawa has enabled the local group to undertake a major survey in the James

Bay neighbourhood to assess current levels of fear and to elicit ideas of practical methods for reducing that fear. The community station staff is playing a leadership role in developing the survey and will help design strategies for dealing with the results.

In contrast, the Blanshard station is located in a neighbourhood where juvenile crime has become a major concern. The constable in this area has focussed a major portion of his time in developing a close liaison with the schools in the community. He has increased his visits and visibility on the school grounds, working closely with teachers and students at both the elementary and junior high level. In cooperation with the neighbourhood community organization, the community station has supported the development of a drug and alcohol prevention program modeled after the 'Just Say No' approach, successfully implemented, in the United States school system. Using peer pressure, this program has stressed the negative consequences of substance abuse among elementary school children. Since such abuse usually results in increased levels of theft and Break and Enter to support the habit, the police anticipate a significant reduction in such crime as this program begins to have an impact on young people. Preliminary results show that this is happening and the initial success has encouraged other community stations to implement similar programs in their local schools.

The Victoria West station began operation during the initial stages of a massive redevelopment project that will see the community population double over the next decade. The opportunity to provide crime prevention input into those plans has not gone unnoticed and the station staff are beginning to work closely with developers, community leaders and city officials to anticipate potential problems and pose preventive solutions before they arise. This is a perfect opportunity for the police and the community to work conjointly on proactive measures that reflect the needs of the neighbourhood and the police capacity to meet them.

The community station concept has had such an impact on the department that the model is being seen as a viable method for delivering other services that have traditionally been based in headquarters. The Business Liaison program was one the department had planned to maintain from the central station, with the assigned constable reaching out to the business community from there. However, based on the store-front experience, it was decided to establish this service in its own office in the downtown business core with a high visibility to both public and businessmen. This station has its own core of volunteers who provide support to the business programs as well as the general public who seek assistance on a variety of issues. Although the primary objective is the businessman, the department recognizes that citizens will view this operation as a typical community station and will look for those services they have become accustomed to in their own neighbourhoods. The important element seems to be the effectiveness of the model of service delivery. There is no doubt that crime prevention programs are becoming synonymous with

the Community Station concept in Victoria. In many respects this approach has reinforced the role of crime prevention in crime control and allows proactive initiatives to be viewed as a distinct element of the overall community law enforcement system within the city.

The department realizes that city-wide crime prevention programs require a locus of control to ensure the overall delivery of a particular program despite neighbourhood differences in priority. To ensure this control, each community station has been designated to oversee the operation, city-wide, of a particular program(s). These include: James Bay - Senior's Programs; Blanshard - Venturers and Bicycle Registration; Fairfield - Block Parent; and Victoria West - Wheels. This centralizing of control has ensured that each program continues to maintain its effectiveness and comprehensive nature.

The extensive process of setting up each operation has proven far more involved than initially anticipated. It would seem that the lessons learned from each station, although helpful, are more reflective of the neighbourhood differences and do not always make the job in a new area any easier. Considerable time is spent selecting and training the staff for each station and implementing a basic office pattern. It might prove useful in future operations to temporarily transfer a core of volunteers from an existing site to assist in the establishment of an office routine. Their expertise would be particularly valuable in the implementation of standards for office operation, report writing and data storage. These tasks are common across the system and require considerable training to ensure proper implementation. The new volunteers-in-training could benefit from their colleagues experience and avoid costly errors.

At this time, future developments appear to be more towards individual station priorities than city-wide initiatives. It is expected that as each neighbourhood sorts out their individual needs, similarities could very well emerge that require a much broader coordination. In that case, planning will have to ensure that city wide coverage occurs with the locus of control centered either in one of the community stations or out of the central headquarters building.

The Role of Publicity

Victoria has been very fortunate in the publicity they have received around the Co.P.S. program. Coverage has crossed all media from print to radio and television at the local, provincial and national level. The local media in particular have taken a great interest and provided ample coverage of each station opening as well as articles or interviews with a broad range of individuals involved in the program. This coverage has enabled the department to bring the program to the public's awareness, and has been an informal method for contacting potential volunteers.

The department has been able to undertake a number of brochure and leaflet programs thanks to a number of local businesses which have supported printing costs. Each community has a local newspaper or newsletter in which a regular column has been given to the station constable to report on crime control or prevention issues. The department has also initiated its own newsletter that is distributed widely and reports on such things as crime rates, prevention strategies and new police programs.

The overall goal of these efforts is to keep the public informed of the crime problems in their area while encouraging them to undertake prevention strategies to reduce their own susceptibility to victimization. The literature has shown that newsletters which include crime statistics as well as control strategies have had the greatest impact on citizen interest and involvement (Lavrakas, 1986).

Efforts, such as this report, are also seen as valuable methods for communicating ideas to other police jurisdictions. A number of inquiries have come into the department as a result of interest generated by the Phase One report. At the same time, department staff are being encouraged to prepare articles for publication in a variety of publications. These articles range from theoretical, goal oriented discussions to specific, pragmatic descriptions of some aspect of the program.

Publicity has become an essential component to the department's strategy for implementation and on-going support. The response has been most gratifying and is certainly reflective of the commitment by the local media to this innovative approach to proactive law enforcement.

Structure and Style of Management

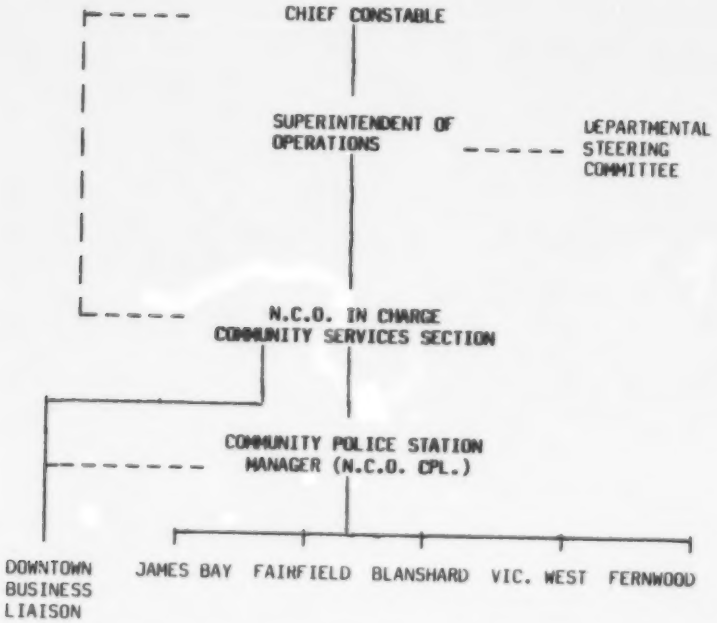
The overall administration of the Co.P.S. program is illustrated in Figure 1.

The central figure in this system is the officer-in-charge of the Community Services Section. That individual reports directly to the Superintendent of Operations who sees to the coordination of the stations with the rest of the department. Given the Chief Constable's strong interest in proactive policing, an informal reporting relationship between that office and the Community Services N.C.O. ensures access on those matters requiring immediate attention by the Chief. This relationship has been readily accepted by all parties and is viewed as essential, given the sensitive nature of the new program both within the department and the community at large.

Direct supervision of each station is under the new position of Community Police Station Manager. That individual is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the program and reports directly to the Steering Committee on a monthly basis. The Downtown Business Liaison officer, despite his store-front

FIGURE 1

Administration Structure of the Co.P.S. Program



operation, reports directly to the head of Community Services. This ensures the operational independence of that program plus the freedom to serve as an ancillary resource to the regular neighbourhood stations.

The Departmental Steering Committee was established to serve in an advisory role to the Co.P.S. program. It is comprised of representatives from all the major sections of the department; Patrol, Detective, Traffic, Community Services and Records, and is chaired by the Superintendent of Operations. Its mandate is two-fold: first, to facilitate communication between all divisions within the department; and second, to ensure consistency in practice among the individual Community Police Stations. This group meets monthly, at a different station each time. Observation of these meetings has shown them to be an excellent forum in which to sort out cooperation issues as well as to develop new procedures in such areas as data gathering and report-form development. Each member of the committee has supervisory status which ensures a strong level of authority when it comes to decision making and

implementation, the broad representation on the committee also provides communication with the rest of the department with an air of credibility.

The original plans for station development included the establishment of a Citizen's Advisory Board (C.A.B.) for each site. This group would serve as the direct link between the constable and the neighbourhood. That relationship would encourage citizen input into program planning thereby giving the community a direct role in the delivery of service by the station.

Unfortunately, this has yet to materialize within any of the existing stations. One argument has been the existence of inter-agency committees which have a mandate similar to that envisioned for the C.A.B.. Station officers have been invited to sit on those committees. It is felt by this writer that such a compromise will not meet the stated goal of the envisioned C.A.B. Instead, the concerns of the Community Station program will simply become one of the many issues to be dealt with by the inter-agency group. It will not allow the time for the in-depth discussion and brain-storming that must take place to make crime prevention programs viable and comprehensive. We envision the inter-agency committee simply serving as a problem sounding board leaving solutions up to the station staff.

If the Community Stations are to live up to their mandate of a strong citizen involvement, permanent bodies of citizen advisors needs to be established to identify the needs for change and carry them through to the program development, delivery and evaluation phases. A serious re-evaluation of the current arrangement needs to be undertaken to ensure that the envisioned philosophy of total community involvement is not watered down out of a perceived concern over possible duplication of service.

Budget

The overall cost of the Co.P.S. program is currently supported from a variety of resources. Basic manpower costs are built into the operational budget of the department. Portions of the operational expenses for example, office supplies and photocopying, are also absorbed by the main budget. The remaining funds have come from a variety of sources outside the department. Much of the furnishing needs have been met from the surplus of Expo '86. Audio-visual and photocopy equipment were all purchased from a special needs fund operated by the Community Services section and raised through a variety of money-making ventures (bingo's, donations, etc.).

Whenever possible, local businesses have been approached for donations of goods, services, or monies and the response has been most gratifying. The opportunity to participate in this innovative program appeals to many of these business people and their enthusiasm is shared with others who have expressed a desire to help out in the future.

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In todays world of fiscal restraint, the police planner must recognize that department budgets are not bottomless pits of money available to support even the most innovative of programs. Different approaches need to be developed to ensure funding is adequate and long term. The Victoria department has recognized this reality through its variety of funding strategies. At the same time, they have reinforced the community role by encouraging its participation in a tangible manner. The fact that support has been so readily evident has shown that the community is willing to get involved financially and is a reliable resource to be considered when implementing new strategies. The ability of community services staff to identify resources and services outside of normal department allotments is a testimony to their innovativeness and their talent for getting citizens involved. I believe many police departments underestimate the willingness of their citizenry to become involved in crime prevention programs and therefore do not expend the public relations work needed to tap into that extensive resource.

Evaluation

If any aspect of the Co.P.S. program is to be considered vital to its long range impact it would have to be that of evaluation. Without such a process in place the police will have little support, other than good will, to justify its existence. At the same time, measures of success or failure will not be available to help in identifying those weaknesses in the program which could ultimately lead to its demise. The department is very cognizant of that risk and are working to design an evaluation system that will accomplish three things. The first is a system for gathering data on the daily operation of each station to identify and categorize all requests for service as well as the response provided. Forms have been designed for that purpose and computer programs are being developed to analyze the data. The second is the design of a method for feeding these data into a Management Information System. This will enable the department's administration to follow the impact of each station on both the reduction of crime and the fear of crime within its neighbourhood. Ultimately, this data analysis system will link the information gathered with a pragmatic method for applying the results. The management plans to use these findings to improve the operation of the community stations as well as the overall service delivery of the department. The third is a plan to train key personnel in evaluation procedures and thereby establish a body of expertise within the department. In this way the evaluation process can become an integral part of the department's capacity to follow up initiatives by assessing their validity and ability to accomplish stated objectives.

Assistance with this process has come from the Ministry of the Solicitor-General. A grant from their Research Division has enabled the department to undertake the first, two tasks with the assistance of a local consultant. The third task is part of a grant proposal submitted to the Donner Canadian Foundation. That

request will provide the in-service training required and allow the department to undertake a three year evaluation of the Co.P.S. program.

Impact Assessment: Department and Community

Objective four of the research project has been to assess the short term impact of the Community Police stations on two fronts, the community and the department as a whole. To achieve this, three measures were designed to assess a number of variables that would identify the initial impact the stations were having on both groups. Due to the short time between station start-up and assessment, any assessment of the stations' impact on crime reduction was ruled out as being as yet purely speculative. Instead it was decided to focus on three areas of interest: citizen awareness of the existence and function of the community station; the activity occurring on a daily basis within the station; and the reaction of non-community service police personnel to the stations' existence. These three dimensions, we hoped, would give a reasonably clear statement of initial impact and could be carried out with minimal disruption to any group.

The James Bay station was selected to carry out the citizen follow-up and the station activity analysis given that it had been operational the longest and had developed an established procedure of service delivery. Since it was not possible to measure crime reduction it was decided to build a fear of crime component into the citizen survey. This would hopefully enable us to determine if the station presence or its activities had any impact on reducing that dimension. Given that the reduction in fear of crime is one of the prime objectives behind the Co.P.S. program, such data could be helpful to the department when making any future decisions.

Definitions

For clarity of explanation, a number of concepts are defined briefly before the findings are presented.

Fear of Crime: Fear of crime will be taken to mean the fear of personal, and/or property victimization, and will be measured as perception of safety in the neighbourhood (Furstenberg, 1971). Personal victimization includes rape, robbery, assault, and larceny; while property victimization includes burglary and vehicle theft. These categories are constant with what the U.S. Department of Justice National Crime Survey (1976) and the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada Urban Victimization Survey (1982) used in determining their victimization rates.

Neighbourhood: The term neighbourhood refers to one's home base; that geographic space in which one feels at home. In this report it specifically refers to a one or two block area around the respondent's home (Porteous, 1977). Urban sociologists have found

that people tend to define their neighbourhood as an area within a few blocks of their own home (Baumer & Dubow, 1977).

Victimization: Victimization refers to direct victimization; an actual victimization experience, in which loss is incurred by the victim (Conklin, 1971).

Logbook: A stenographers notebook used by the volunteers at the James Bay Co.P.S. to report entries of the daily activities in that station.

Research Design

The data were obtained from several sources: logbook entries made by the volunteers at the James Bay Co.P.S.; personal audio-taped interviews with Victoria City Police officers; and a telephone survey administered by station volunteers.

Data Collection: Geographically James Bay is the second smallest of the five City of Victoria neighbourhoods. It can be considered primarily as a bedroom neighbourhood with multi-family units outnumbering single-family dwellings 6.5:1 (Walker, 1987).

The population is approximately 10,700 (City of Victoria Census, 1984), with females comprising 58% of that number. Over 37% of the total population is above 65 years of age with a women to men ratio of 2:1. Those aged 25-34 years, the second largest group, comprise 19% of the total population.

Logbook Data were recorded by the researchers on a summary sheet from the daily entries made by the volunteers working at the James Bay Co.P.S. The time frame covered a 14 week period (October 5, 1987 to January 8, 1988, inclusive). The record contained six categories: the total number of calls/visits to the Co.P.S. by hour of day; gender of the visitors/callers; previous contacts with the Co.P.S.; the reason for the call/visit; and evidence of follow-up.

Attitudes and opinions of 27 Victoria City Police Officers were recorded during personal interviews conducted by a trained interviewer at the Victoria City Police station during a two week period in January and February, 1988. The responses to the open-ended questions were then categorized as follows: familiarity with the operation of the Co.P.S.; value of the Co.P.S.; departmental structure; budget allocation; law enforcement approaches; and reactions to the Co.P.S. program.

The community surveys involved the administration of a fourteen item questionnaire by telephone interviewers. These questions were designed to assess personal safety issues, victimization experience, demographic issues, and the awareness, function and usage of the Co.P.S. The sampling frame was the City of Victoria taxation census which included the names and addresses of all residents in the James Bay neighbourhood. Stratified random

samples of 50 (pilot survey) and 350 (major survey) telephone numbers were generated. Potential respondents were contacted by telephone by trained volunteers from the James Bay Co.P.S. Respondents were briefly informed about the study and then asked if they were willing to participate.

The samples were limited to those who had telephones but this was not felt to be a major concern. A geographically stratified random sample was preferred as it avoided biasing the sample in either direction and would allow a sample with a full range of characteristics (Jackson, 1988).

The items contained in the questionnaire were developed after an extensive literature review. The police study indicated several procedural errors and some ambiguity in several questions and revisions were made to the questionnaire before the major study was commenced. Each interview lasted about ten minutes.

The final instrument had six clusters of questions. Three items addressed the extent and source of respondent's awareness of the station. Respondents perception of the function of the Co.P.S. was determined by asking them to choose from a number of suggested categories. Three items inquired into the areas of general usage and individuals' reasons for calling the station. Four questions addressed the issue of personal safety. Respondents were asked about their walking patterns in their neighbourhood during both day and night. They were also asked whether they felt unsafe when they were out at night and whether they were now more worried about violence and safety on the street in their neighbourhood as compared to a year ago.

Measuring fear of crime is a complex task. Past research has examined fear of crime through the use of surveys which have questioned a large number of people about their experiences as crime victims and their attitudes and beliefs about crime. These methods do not necessarily measure fear at the moment but assess potential fear. There has been a proliferation of indicators professing to measure fear of crime. Controversy over the measurement of fear arose due to differences in the way "fear" and "of what" had been operationalized (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

One approach uses two questions as indicators of fear of crime (Yin, 1980). The first question, "Is there any area, in your neighbourhood, where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" acknowledges that fear is both situation and context specif[illegible] This question has been used by Gallup polls in the U.S. s[illegible]ses since the middle 1960's and has also been included four times during the late 1970's by the General Social Surveys in the U.S. The series showed a significant linear trend, with an increase of fear of .42 percentage points annually. A limitation of this question is the potential for biasing the respondents responses; therefore making it difficult to distinguish between perception of risk and the fear which that perception evokes.

The second question, used on the U.S. Census Bureau's National Crime Panel and many other surveys, is "How safe do you feel, or would you feel, being along in your neighbourhood after dark?". This item attempts to measure the fear of 'street crime'. According to Baumer and Dubow (1977), fear of personal attack appears to be the most single salient dimension for most people in evaluating an area's safety.

Respondents were asked about their victimization experiences, if any, and whether these involved them personally or their property. The questionnaire did not address indirect victimization experience. A final section contained questions concerned with the respondents gender, age and living arrangements.

Results and Discussion

Logbooks: Logbook summaries, were used to determine the total number of calls or visits to the James Bay Co.P.S., by the hour of day and gender during the 14 week period, October 5, 1987 to January 8, 1988. There were 1436 calls or visits in total, with 592 by males, 409 by females and 435 in which gender was not specified in the daily logbooks. "Calls" accounted for 912 of the total, the remaining 524 being classed as "visits", 46.8% of the calls occurred between 0900 and 1200. As well, 35.7% of the visits were between 1000 and 1200. Peaks were also apparent for both between 1400 and 1600 hours. Possibly due to curiosity about the station peaking, over a third of all calls or visits occurred during November. A definite decline in the number of calls/visits during December was to be expected as individuals focused on the Christmas season.

An effort was made to determine the number of calls or visits made by those with previous contact with the station. However, the logbook entries did not consistently address this with the result that in only 34% of the calls or visits was there any previous contact. It is unfortunate that the recording procedure was so unstructured as it would have been valuable to determine the extent of repeat calls for service as one indicator of the public's willingness to approach the community station for assistance.

Eleven reasons for calling or visiting the Co.P.S. used although actual scrutiny of the logbook entries necessitated the addition of the category, 'not specified'. This category included for 40% of the total entries, with 'other' accounting for a further 25%. Interestingly, 'social activity' accounted for 11% of the total.

Proactive measures 'request crime prevention information,' 'make an appointment' and 'report suspicious activity' accounted for 3.8%, 3.6% and 1.8% respectively for a total of 9.3%. Other requests for various services were limited to only 6.6% of the total.

During the 14 week interval, of 293 (20%) calls or visits resulted in some form of follow-up. 168 (57%) of these cases were addressed by the Co.P.S. officer and 53 (18%) by headquarters. Unfortunately of the follow-up in 800 (56%) of the 1436 calls or visits was shown as 'not specified' in the logbook recording system. The practice of recording very sketchy information in the logbook entries, has resulted in the extensive use of the 'not specified' category and is a major limitation of this source of information.

The relationship between gender and requests for service is considered, although reporting limitations again resulted in 30.3% (435) inquiries with no indication of the sex of the client. Despite the neighbourhood population favouring females to males in a 2:1 ratio, slightly more males than females (59% and 41% respectively of the 1001 cases with gender known) approached the station for some service during the 14 weeks.

Police Interviews: As indicated earlier, interviews were conducted with 27 Victoria Police Department officers: 14 Constables; 10 NCO's (Corporals and Sergeants); and 3 in management (Inspectors and Superintendents). Length of service ranged from two months to more than sixteen years: twelve being in the latter category and eleven having between 8 and 16 years in the department. Not surprisingly, all in the Management group had more than 16 years of service and all those with less than 8 years were constables.

Most of the officers interviewed (70%) were familiar with the operation of the Co.P.S. Four of the 10 NCO's and 2 of the Constables were unaware of the stations' mode of operation. Fifteen (56%) officers answered yes to the question "At this time, are the Co.P.S. a welcome addition?", while 6 (22%) voiced opposition and the remaining 6 were non-committal. Twenty of the 27 officers had visited a Co.P.S. at one time or another although only 5 said that they would "be prepared, at some point to work in a station". About half were noncommittal on this question but several indicated that they would consider this if the position held a higher rank than at present (Constable).

The location of the Community Stations in the organizational structure had been of some concern. A large majority, 22 of 27, thought they should remain within the Community Services Section although 3 felt they should be in their own section. There was no clear picture of the direction in which the Community Stations should move. Twenty officers did not respond and 4 said the station should provide both reactive and proactive policing components.

In response to a question about their general opinions of the Co.P.S. as expressed in conversation with fellow officers, 13 admitted making negative statements and 11 stated they had not discussed the Co.P.S. with co-workers. Specific views included such things as: the belief that the department's current lack of

manpower should not be further depleted by these 'proactive' policing programs; that the patrol division was already severely depleted; and that the Co.P.S. should be handling more of their own calls, especially those of the nuisance variety. Only 4 respondents admitted to positive comments. The three groups varied considerably in the direction of their responses. Constables showed considerable within-group variance although a majority cited negative comments in conversations with colleagues. At the same time, however, Constables were the only respondents citing positive comments. The higher the rank, the more likely an individual was to be either non-committal in conversation or reluctant to discuss the stations openly with others.

When asked "If the money devoted to the Co.P.S. program were to be redirected, where would it go?" a large majority favoured increased manpower over capital expenses and most indicated that the Patrol Division "best deserves that money now". This was consistent across the rank groups.

When asked "If you needed information on the Co.P.S. where would you go to get such information?"

All but one of the officers interviewed identified either the Co.P.S. or the Station Constable as an appropriate source. At the time of the interviews, 4 of the respondents were participating in some activity involving the Co.P.S. program on a regular basis, 1 Constable, 2 NCO's and one from the Manager category.

Community Telephone Survey: As mentioned earlier, the third source of data was a telephone survey of citizens in the area conducted by the volunteers at the James Bay Co.P.S. under the close supervision of the research team. Of the sample of 350, a total of 213 (61%) participated and 34 (9%) were unwilling. No response could be obtained at 62 (18%) of the numbers and in 41 cases (12%) the line was not in service.

The demographic characteristics of the sample are shown in Table 3 and closely approximate census data for the area, supporting the sample strategies.

Of the 213 respondents, 187 (87.8%) were already aware of the existence of the Co.P.S., and 20 of the remaining 26 thought the police should publicize the station more.

A question about how they became aware of the Community Station clearly showed the influence of the media, the newspaper in particular. As can be seen in Table 4, word-of-mouth and the visibility of the station to those "passing by" are also important.

TABLE 3

Demographic Characteristics of Telephone Sample Respondents (N=213)

Variables		Frequency	Percent
Gender:	Males	61	28.6
	Females	152	71.4
Age:	Over 65	82	38.5
	50 to 65	41	19.2
	30 to 49	58	27.2
	Under 29	32	15.0
Live:	Alone	80	37.6
	Others	130	61.0
	No response	3	1.4
Dwelling Type:			
	Single	117	54.9
	Apartment/Condo	70	32.9
	Townhouse	25	11.7
	Other (trailer)	1	.5
Living Accommodation:			
	Rent	69	32.4
	Own	139	65.3
	No response	5	2.3

TABLE 4

Source of Public Awareness of Co.P.S.

Awareness		Frequency	Percentage
Newspaper		122	48.0
Radio/TV		57	23.0
Friends/Family		29	11.0
Other:		46	18.0
	New Horizons	(03)	(1.2)
	Close Proximity	(02)	(0.9)
	Local Business	(03)	(1.2)
	Passing-By	(28)	(11.0)
	Pamphlets	(05)	(2.0)
	Block Watch	(03)	(1.2)
	Unsure	(02)	(0.8)
Total*		254	100.0

* N = 187 because of multiple responses

When asked about their perception of the function of the Community Station responses were fairly even split among "Crime Reduction", "Crime Prevention" and "Police Visibility." The low number of respondents (12) who indicated community involvement as a function came as a surprise. The department will need to develop more focussed strategies to develop this concept and the stations' role in it.

Only 24 respondents, eleven percent of the total sample, were found to have had occasion to call or visit the station. Of these, the majority relating to either the reporting of a crime (12 cases) or suspicious behavior (7 cases). This number, although small, is of some concern is that they are on reactive services rather than the proactive support so readily available. Once again the value of better educating the public about the main purpose of the station is apparent.

Table 5 details the responses given when respondents were asked to state which department would be contacted under specific conditions. In three out of the five situations, seeking crime prevention information, and reporting threats or suspicious activities, a majority of respondents saw the Community Station as

TABLE 5

Choice of Police Station to Contact in Specific Circumstances[1]

	Community Station	Main Station	Other
To Report a Crime (N = 193)	73 (30%)	120 (62%)	0
To Report Suspicious Activities (N = 187)	113 (60%)	71 (38%)	3 (2%)
To Seek Crime Prevention Information (N = 185)	152 (82%)	25 (14%)	8 (4%)
To Seek Trial Information (N = 186)	54 (29%)	78 (42%)	54[2] (29%)
To Report Threats or Intimidation (N = 186)	109 (59%)	69 (37%)	8 (4%)

1 Respondents could select more than one response. This question was put only to those who were aware of the Community Station.

2 Thirty-three of these indicated they would contact the court.

the department to be contacted. This tends to reinforce the view of the community station as a preventive service although it is not overwhelming. It is possible that the public may be viewing the Community Station somewhat like a precinct station, traditionally seen as an extension of the main police headquarters.

Four questions in the survey addressed the issue of fear of crime, specifically perceptions of threats to personal safety in the respondents' neighbourhood. The results are summarized in Table 6. A large majority did walk alone during the day in their neighbourhood. As might be expected this declined at night but not as much as the literature would lead one to believe. Less than half the respondents felt unsafe when out alone at night, but only about a third were more worried about violence and safety in the neighbourhood then a year ago.

TABLE 6

Fear of Crime (N = 213)

	Yes	No	N.R.
In your neighbourhood:			
1. Do you walk alone during the day?	199 (93.4%)	13 (6.1%)	1 (0.5%)
2. Do you walk alone, at night?	108 (51%)	105 (49%)	
3. Do you feel unsafe when out alone at night?	93 (44%)	120 (56%)	
4. Are you more worried now about violence and safety on the street then a year ago?	74 (35%)	139 (65%)	

Victimization does not seem to be high among the James Bay respondents, especially at the personal level. Only 9 respondents (4%) said they had been so victimized although 38 (18%) indicated property victimization.

Discussion

This section has presented a description of the implementation and initial impact of the Community Police Station program. This was done in order that readers could form their own impressions and reactions to what has taken place without being continuously confronted with the authors' viewpoint. As a result, discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the program have been deliberately left until this final section.

Implementation: On reflection, the sheer speed with which these stations have been implemented is a testimony to the potential value they have in the eyes of the police administration and the community. Furthermore, it reflects the strong belief of Chief Snowdon in the future of proactive policing as a powerful means of achieving crime control. This belief is a major factor in the success of Victoria's program and is a key element for other departments to remember when contemplating a similar venture. The department has reinforced this support from the executive through an indirect reporting relationship between the Community Services section and the chief's office. As long as this is not abused it will enable the Co.P.S. program easy access to the support and advice which the chief constable's office affords. In Victoria's case, this relationship has enabled the Co.P.S. program to circumvent bureaucratic problems which could have delayed unnecessarily development plans. On a cautionary note, it is important that such a relationship is not viewed simply as a means for avoiding established lines of reporting. That situation will surely foster internal discontent from other divisions who could view the relationship as a form of favoritism by the top.

The rush to get the stations operational gave rise to some problems that might have been avoided with a more controlled and methodical implementation plan. Officer training could have been more carefully thought out and developed. The involvement of the departmental training officer, who could have developed a training package to meet the needs not only of the new station officers but also the volunteers, would have been beneficial. In addition, that officer should be responsible for the information sessions to inform the rest of the department about the new program. Such training and information packages, if developed in-house, would best reflect the departmental goals and objectives for the Co.P.S. program. At the same time they could be monitored for apparent weaknesses both in content and method of delivery.

Given the absence of such programs at training institutes, like the B.C. Police Academy, Victoria might well take the initiative and establish their own training packages. Not only would these reflect the needs of the department but they would maintain control over curriculum, something not possible if the service were to be purchased from an outside organization. There is sufficient experience with the program at this point that a decision to turn all training requirements over to the departmental staff development officer is strongly recommended. There are a variety of resources in the community that the department can draw on to assist them in developing such curricula.

Tied closely with training is the need to free newly selected station officers from other duties, to allow them adequate preparation time for their new responsibilities. There is sound value to providing an individual a period of time to be an observer rather than a practitioner. Unfortunately most departments, including Victoria, do not have the luxury of extra manpower to allow this. Nevertheless, serious consideration should

be given to finding ways of resolving this problem, since a trained and prepared officer is of greater immediate value than one who must learn from making unnecessary mistakes on the job. Much of the training in the Victoria program has been from this "learn while you work" model which, despite the experiential advantages, has created problems that could have been avoided through a more structured, in-service preparation program.

An obvious oversight, right from the beginning, was the lack of adequate information gathering instruments to record activity in the stations. This is most evident in the minimal value of the information gleaned from our log-book analysis, reported earlier. Given the innovative nature of the Co.P.S. program, statements of success require the support of concrete data to ensure continued recognition not only from City Hall but from the community and the rest of the department. Such data can only come from the use of valid, reliable instruments designed to produce the information necessary to measure performance and evaluate effectiveness.

This initial deficiency reflected the department's inexperience with these techniques and their underestimation of the value of such data. However, advice from outside professionals quickly changed their minds. In addition, the federal Ministry of the Solicitor-General has provided the financial assistance necessary to develop a basic Management Information System which will utilize these data for long-term planning.

Staff selection has been a very successful aspect of the program. The decision to open the Station Constable positions to internal competition has proven to be an excellent means of increasing departmental interest in the program while, at the same time, allowing equal access to the program from across the department. Volunteer selection remains in the hands of each station constable which allows them to recruit staff who best fit the overall philosophy and objectives of the individual station. The willingness of citizens to volunteer has been more than gratifying and the quality of applicants has been beyond expectations. Each station has been fortunate in that many volunteers come with work skills and experience vital to its daily operation. This has allowed many volunteers to develop needed services independently. Those volunteers that we interviewed expressed a strong pride in the contribution they were making. This enhances their participatory role as anticipated by the program's philosophy and objectives. Long range plans are to have experienced volunteers play a major role in the selection of new staff thereby relieving the constable of much of this time consuming task. That decision certainly indicates the trust and confidence the department has begun to show in their volunteers.

Unfortunately, the stations have not yet seen their way clear to establish the Citizen Advisory Boards recommended in the Phase One study. Instead, they have compromised that involvement by placing the Station Constable on neighbourhood service committees. Those groups are made up of representatives of the various

human service agencies operating in the area. Although such a group will help coordinate the role of the station within the total network of human services delivery, it is questionable whether it will allow the quantity or variety of citizen input desired under the original advisory board model. The participatory objective of the program demands a forum for citizen input and leadership. Such input will reflect citizen needs directly without the syphoning affect that often results when human service agencies gather to discuss community needs. There is no reason that both groups can not co-exist; the station constable could simply represent the Advisory Board on the larger committee. It is strongly recommended that the police department create a Citizens' Advisory Board for each existing station.

Funding a program like Co.P.S. is always a concern given the current pressures on municipalities to hold the line on budgets without reducing services. Victoria has been most fortunate in the ongoing support they have received from City Hall and the Police Board. However, interested police departments must realize that implementing these stations requires more capital than most budgets will allow. Therefore a strong emphasis must be placed on generating on-going financial support from other resources. Such assistance need not be solely money but could include services or goods-in-kind which carry as much value as actual dollars. Victoria's experience in this area has been most gratifying. Local businesses have donated many fixtures and site improvements as well as paying for printing many of the crime-prevention brochures distributed from the stations. On-going operational costs, not covered by regular department budgets, can be met, in part at least, by using a variety of fund raising programs. Money generated through a bingo license has been a mainstay of the Victoria program and currently generates close to $45,000 a year. These funds are being used to pay for such things as rent, mortgage, utilities and telephone charges in each station.

Such support is indicative of the community participation possible and it is only limited by the creativity of the department. Victoria has certainly developed an expertise in that area with future plans including the establishment of a Police Foundation that would enable the department to access monies and gifts-in-kind in a perpetual, structured fashion.

Overall, the Co.P.S. program has been a good example of police ingenuity and initiative to act in a comprehensive and pragmatic manner. The structure of each station and their overall management from the department generally has been well thought out. The involvement by the community is certainly far more intensive than any other program of its kind in the country. This bodes well for the future and certainly makes Victoria a good example for other departments, keeping in mind differences in community lifestyle and demographics. Only time and a strong evaluation process will enable any inherent weaknesses to surface and be dealt with.

Impact: Turning to the impact studies, there is considerable room for discussion and possible recommendation. The logbook analysis left much to be desired in the way of informative data. If anything, this reinforces the need for a more structured reporting system to replace that adopted by the James Bay volunteers. Although the volunteers argued that the system allows them a means to share activity between the various shifts, it was less than informative when it came to categorizing the activity in a meaningful and measurable fashion. The limited data nevertheless point toward some potentially valuable findings. Temporal patterns of service requests, especially if substantiated by new reporting methods, give a good indication of station use and which periods demand the greatest concentration of volunteers or constable assistance. Comparing usage with type of request will enable the stations to anticipate service calls and coordinate the necessary resources to be more available during those peak periods. It will also be indicative of the citizen's view of the role played by the station. For example, should it become apparent that the proactive focus is being supplanted by the reactive then a public relations campaign could be used to help correct that perception. At the same time, consideration might be given to implementing other measures, such as intensive patrol, to help reduce the actual crime occurrences that generate reactive requests.

The decision to implement a standard occurrence report form in February, 1988 will no doubt remove most of the 'unknown' responses encountered in our analysis. These data will be tallied daily and a monthly occurrence summary will be produced. This will enhance the quality and informative nature of future assessments, which will be included in the Management Information System to assist with long term planning strategies both within the Co.P.S. program and across the department in general.

The process of interviewing police personnel was a most enlightening exercise. Overall, the rest of the department appears to have accepted the existence of the new stations with a cautious optimism. The major criticism revolved around the belief that the money being spent on Community Stations could have been better utilized at this time to 'beef-up' the patrol resources of the department. Most officers interviewed stated that the Co.P.S. initiative was premature and should have waited until other services were better staffed. In some respects this belief can be interpreted as a reaction to the unknown, and therefore threatening, nature of proactive law enforcement. As mentioned earlier, traditional policing does not view the proactive element as 'real policing'. To the traditionalist, crime control can only be achieved by putting more officers, with better equipment, onto the streets. Attempts to make the community more responsible for their own safety is viewed as a vision of "fantasy land" and not reality. In spite of this, it seems that the rank and file in Victoria have decided to reserve judgement for the time being, pending concrete evidence of the value of the program.

Despite their skepticism, many officers had visited a station and a small percentage expressed an interest in becoming a station constable at some time in the future. Unfortunately we did not explore how each officer became familiar with the program. This might have given us a better picture of the in-service education needs to introduce the rest of the department to the program. In part, the success of the program depends on the integration of the proactive component with the long standing reactive services of the department. This means a willingness by the rank and file to accept the new initiatives as 'true police work' and simply another form of delivering the whole range of policing services. It is recommended at this time the departmental training officer undertake an in-service needs analysis to assess the extent of knowledge about the stations. This could help the department to develop an ongoing in-service educational program for all current and future staff, whether sworn members or civilians.

The community telephone survey proved to be a very satisfactory method for assessing citizen reaction to the program. The station volunteers who administered the questionnaire demonstrated a strong interest in doing the job as well and as accurately as possible. It was interesting to find that the majority of citizens were aware of the stations' existence, pointing to the role played by the Victoria media as a major source of information.

The survey showed that the citizen's view of the station was primarily proactive in nature. However, the number of reactive responses warns against the possibility of these stations developing the 'precinct-like' image associated with large urban police departments operating out of several station houses. The department could well avoid this possibility by increasing publicity about the proactive intent and nature of the program.

The presence of the station may have had an impact on citizen concerns about neighbourhood safety. This was indicated, in part, by a lower level of fear expressed at the present as compared with a year ago. At the same time, over half of the citizens felt comfortable out alone during the night hours. However, further study is required to determine if any relationship exists between this variable and the stations' presence.

There is no doubt that the results are limited, due to the short period of operation prior to the administration of the survey. A more suitable assessment should take place after one year, when some of the major proactive programs have had the chance to become established. At the time of this survey, many of these programs were just beginning and expectations concerning their impact are somewhat premature. However, the data reported here could provide a useful base for comparison should a later survey be undertaken.

Conclusion

The Co.P.S. program has already become a firm part of the expectations of many Victorians. The department has found itself

under extensive pressure from unserviced neighbourhoods to speed up the establishment of their station. Citizen's groups have begun to lobby the department to ensure that the program continues at the same level should budget shortfalls threaten the overall delivery of services across the police force. These concerns demonstrate the public's demand for a more visible and accessible police presence; so much so that long range departmental plans call for a doubling of the number of stations from 5 to 10. This will reduce the geographic area to be serviced by each Community Station and bring citizens into even closer contact with their police officer. However, the speed of the development must begin to slow to allow the existing sites to be evaluated. This will enable the department to review the program's strengths and weaknesses and make readjustments to those aspects which are proving to be ineffective.

The Victoria Community Police Station program breaks with tradition. It forces officers, especially those favoring reactive policing, to look beyond rank, routine and the most modern of equipment for solutions. It pushes the officer back into the community without the protective cover of his or her police car. It demands that they interact with the citizens they serve on a one-to-one level. It also recognizes that the average citizen can make decisions on appropriate crime prevention strategies without the long-believed advantage of experience in law enforcement. To some police officers this will be a hard pill to swallow. For others, this will be precisely the challenge they need to make crime prevention and crime control a dual responsibility. The City of Victoria has taken up that challenge and, although they have only begun to build towards this ultimate outcome, the beginning has proven to be an energetic, creative and insightful process.

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